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ABSTRACT

An Architecture of Industrialism: The Liddell Family of Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead, 1607-1808

Charles Desmond Hartfelder

This thesis presents an argument for the regionality of architectural functionality within an overarching "Georgian Order" of the eighteenth century British world. Following previous interpretations of such an order put forth by Leone (1988a) and forwarded by Johnson to address English material culture (1993, 1996), the concept and character of a regional architecture for the emerging industrial centre of County Durham and Northumberland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is explored through the close examination of a particular case study, namely the estate of the coal-owning Liddell family at Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead.

As a site no longer maintained by the landed family yet retaining key components of its early modern character, the critical analyses of the house, the wider estate, and its place within the landscape has necessitated the creation of a new methodology for the historical archaeology of buildings no longer extant, placing sociopolitical and mercantile ventures and objectives of a particular family within their local and wider contexts. In this manner, estate landscapes may be understood as reflections of the specific objectives and circumstances of those acting upon it.

Following contextualisation of the site within the landscape of early modern industrial North East England, the scope of this model is drawn out to explore the nature and opening of élite housing culture by comparison with the colonial Chesapeake region. This comparison is particularly useful where an analogy is drawn between the concept of an open élite (Stone & Stone 1984) as applied to mainland English industrial capitalists (e.g. the Liddells and Bowes) and that of the emerging and later dominating planter class in the American colonies. It is in this placing of local history within its wider context where a regionality may be found and the functionality of dwelling in early modern period may be appreciated.

An Architecture of Industrialism:
The Liddell Family of Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead, 1607-1808

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Departments of Archaeology and History
University of Durham

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Declaration

I, the author of this thesis, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

No part of the work that appears in this study has been submitted in support of an application of any other degree qualification in this or any other university.

Where other sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

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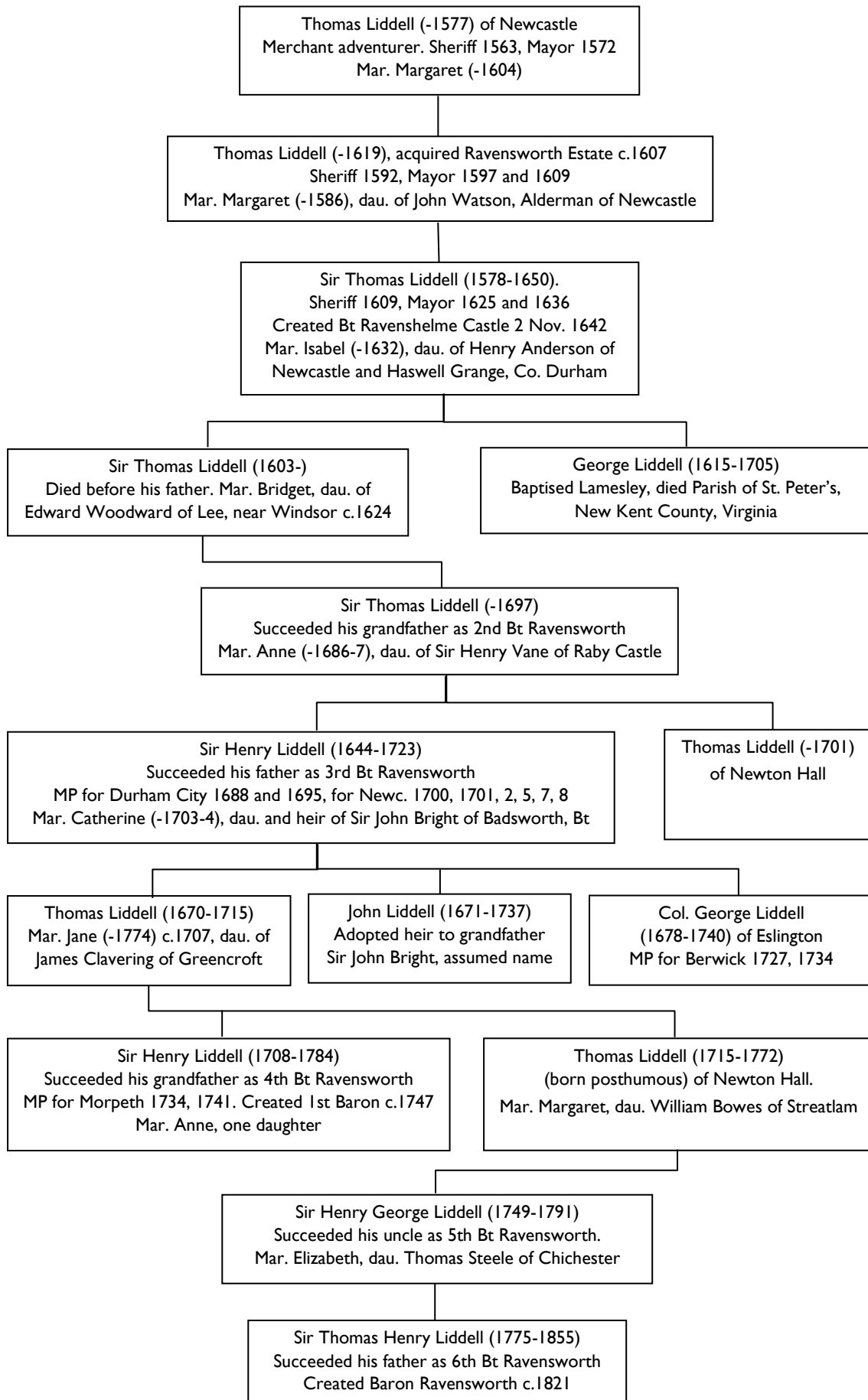
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Given the interdisciplinary and regional nature of this study, acknowledgments will be spread across a range of academic and civic organisations. As is addressed in the Methodology (Chapter II), the primary site at Ravensworth Castle remains an underexplored cultural resource for the Tyne Valley and the North East in general despite community and institutional interest in its preservation. Access is not easily obtained, and owing to these limitations, the greater part of a year was spent in discussions with representatives from local civic, advocacy, and archaeological organisations. Specific thanks are paid to Penny Middleton of Northern Archaeological Associates, Mike Collins at English Heritage, Naomi Atherton of Summers-Inman Construction and Property Consultants and English Heritage, David Beaumont at Beaumont Brown Architects, Martin Hulse at Tyne and Wear Building Preservation Trust, Craig Ellis at Gateshead Council, Clare Lacy, Senior Conservation Officer for Gateshead Council, and especially David Heslop, County Archaeologist for Newcastle City Council, for their continued assistance and support in endeavouring for access and guiding me through the legality of landholding in the twenty-first century. Additional thanks are offered to Andrea Holmes at the Coal Authority for her assistance in acquiring subsidence maps for the Ravensworth Estate and its surrounding landscape, and to Janine Watson of Durham Archaeological Services for her assistance in producing the maps included in this thesis.

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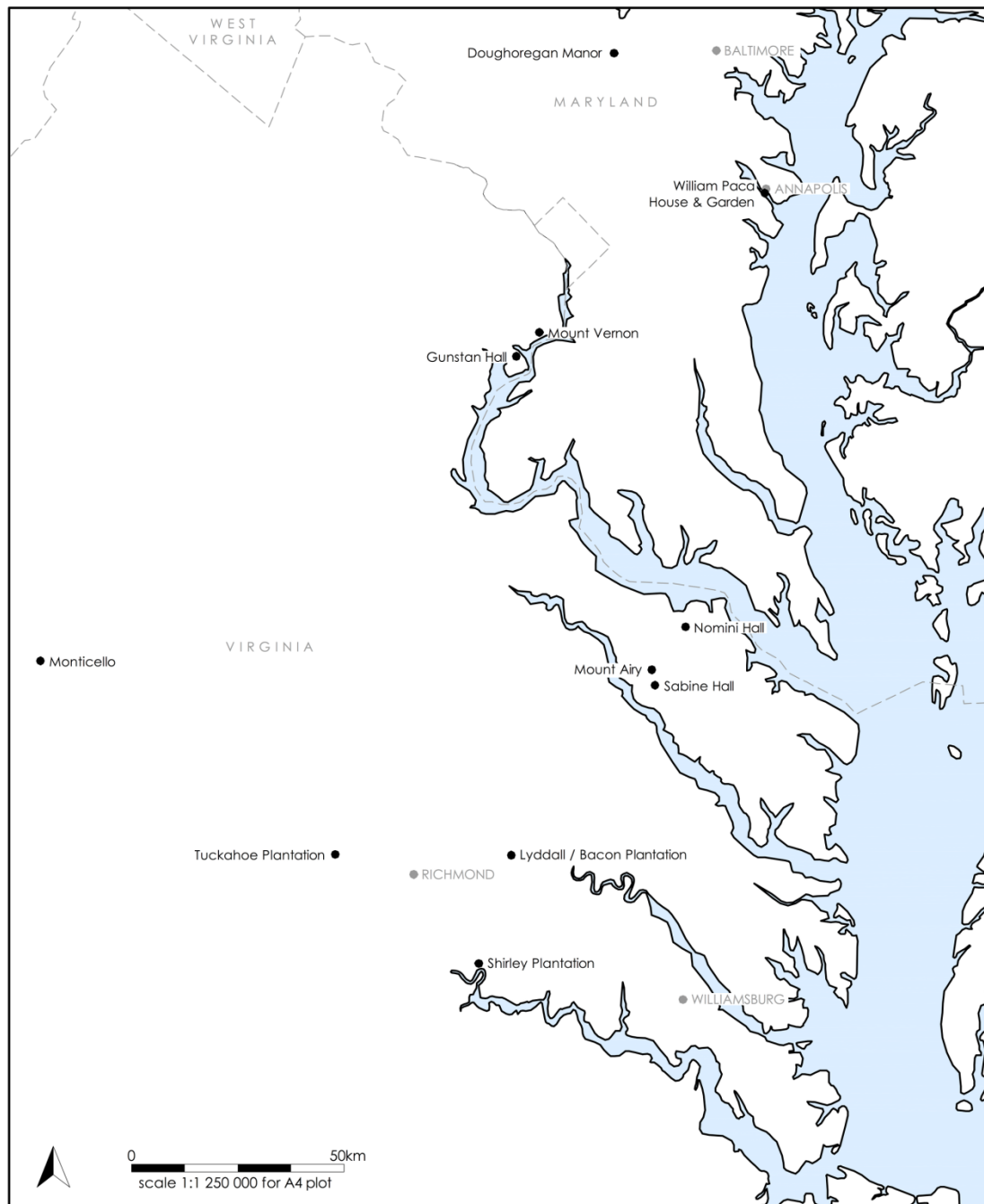
Finally, I must extend the sincerest of gratitudes to my supervisors. Working alongside Pam Graves for the past five years since I came to Durham to study with her for my MA has been one of the most rewarding experiences I have had and has led to a beautiful friendship I know will endure long after I have left England. It was under her guidance and with her confidence that I designed this project which addresses my aims toward a career in preservation architecture and promotes the historical significance of local cultural history. Towards the end of the first year researching for this project, I sought out the counsel of Adrian Green from the Department of History, and following three extended meetings over coffee, asked if he would join Pam and I as my second primary supervisor. The time spent working with Adrian since his agreeing to co-supervise the project has led to a wonderfully supportive relationship which has encouraged me to push my writing and creative use of local and wider histories to levels I had not previously thought personally attainable. I am deeply grateful for their guidance during this process and will sincerely miss our supervisions on chilly winter evenings when creativity and collaboration were so delightfully potent.

ISSUE OF LIDDELL FAMILY

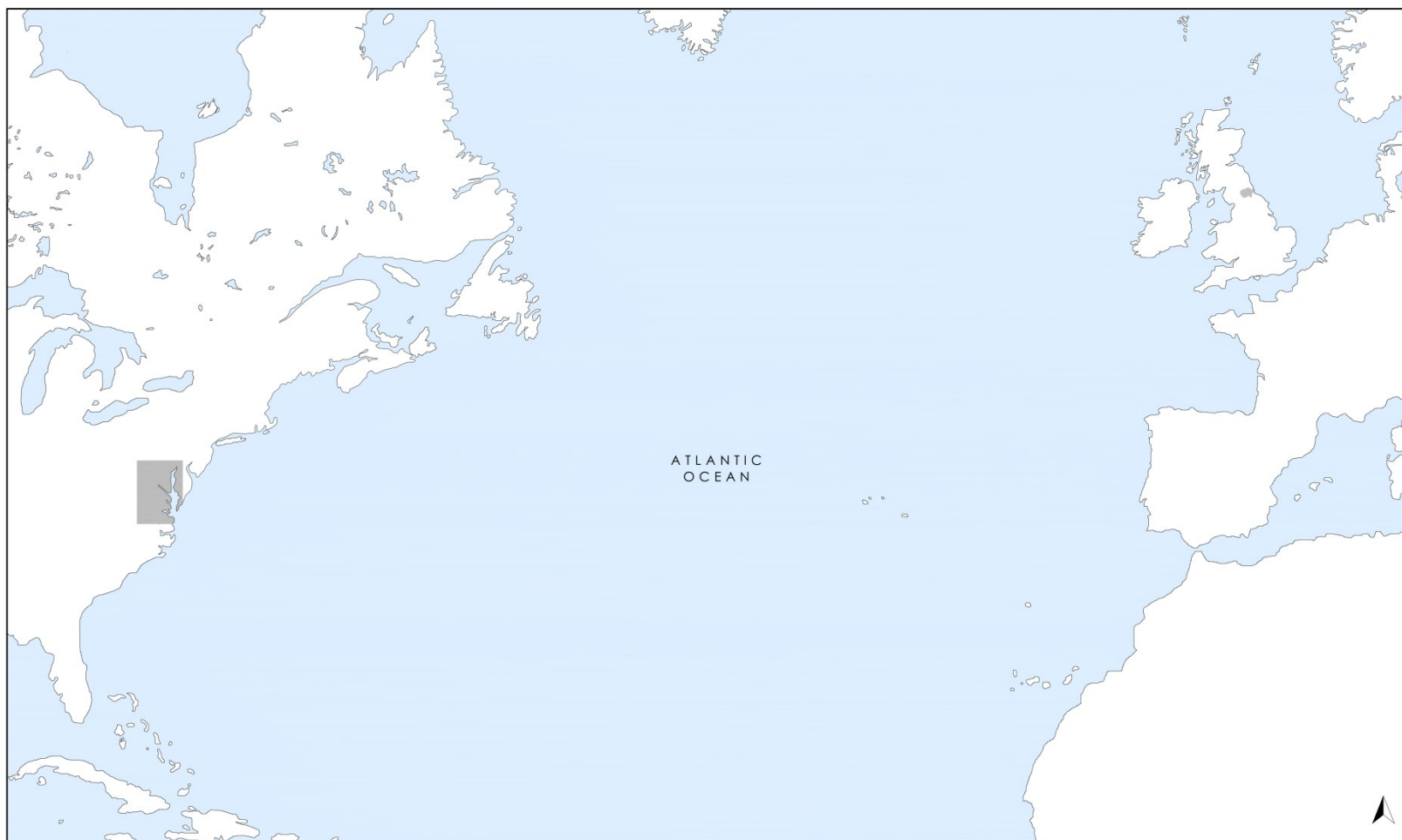




PreFigure 1: Regional map of Northern England, showing principal sites



PreFigure 2: Regional map of Chesapeake Bay, showing principal sites



PreFigure 3: Atlantic Ocean, showing County Palatine of Durham and Chesapeake Bay

CHAPTER I

Introduction: Creating Élitism

*Wealth, howsoever got, in England makes
Lords of mechanics, gentlemen of rakes.
Antiquity and birth are needless here,
'Tis impudence and money makes a peer."*
Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman*, 1701

The form and function of architecture have a direct relationship with the stimuli and circumstances which oversaw its creation. Its character at a certain moment in time is fundamentally dependent on contemporary utility. That is to say that buildings and the landscapes which surround them may be treated as reflective of the values and functionality being placed upon them, where the underlying purpose of the built environment is to address the necessity of the patron whether by occasion or design.

Architectural histories of the early modern period tend to focus on the specific innovations in design and faculty which permeated from centres of cultural change, specifically the idea of the so-called "Georgian Order" (Leone 1988) where a set of maxims for the employment of architecture may be seen to unite those people or purposes who commissioned its construction. As decreed by a metropolitan citizen, "the several cities and large towns of this island catch the manners of the metropolis. [...] The notions of splendour that prevail in the Capital are eagerly adopted; the various changes of the fashion exactly copied" (Trusler 1777, quoted in McKendrick 1982:51). Taking this dominance model, it may be assumed that such a system of cultural dissemination created an architectural climate in which strides were made towards emulation of a central dictatorial core of aesthetics and understanding which underpins all other design choices and cannot possibly be

surmounted. Association with this core must then govern the decisions of all those who wish to be recognised among the enlightened class of patrons.

This is perhaps the essential characteristic of late seventeenth and eighteenth century architecture and the culture of its patronage yet it ignores the basic causal principles of architectural design and utility addressed above. While this “Georgian Order” indeed represents a unifying vision for connectedness to a central authority, the concept should be understood not as the reproduction of culture but as the application of common themes to the specific requirements and aspirations of the patron. Such regionality and variability is what defines the Georgian model for architectural, behavioural, and spatial expression, and as shall be investigated in this thesis, this presents an opportunity to examine the regional approaches to élite architecture as distinct from those put forth by metropolitan “centres” of society. It is in this culture of individuality that the true sense of an early modern ideal may be found.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century, an emerging class of landholder who shall be defined as the “merchant élite” previously barred from entry into the upper levels of élite society found itself able to compete with an existing gentry class. Owing to a set of political, economic, religious, and mercantile circumstances, a situation emerged in which the successful industrial capitalist could seize a dominant role in the community and define such a place through the patronage of grand architecture. This was an opening of the élite (Stone & Stone 1984) where participation in high society was dependent on the employment of certain cultural and political practices, and such “new gentry” became participants in the conversation which dictated such practices.

This thesis seeks to address the devices, nature, and regionality of social mobility during the early industrial period as reflected in the built environment. This so-called “gentry question” (Johnson 1996:152) seeks to examine the ways in which a system of aspirational behaviours translated to housing and landscape design at a level of society just barely subsidiary to the highest levels of the social élite, using architecture not necessarily for entrée but to create rapport. Historical archaeologies of this period have recognised the analytical utility of capitalism (particularly as forwarded by Johnson 1996 and 1999, Leone 1999, and Wylie 1999) which may provide a suitable framework for this and future studies of industrial landscape estates as constructed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Specifically, this concept may serve as one possible device for framing the central assertion of this thesis that élite architecture and landscapes of the period are notable for their individualism in terms of design and functionality. As a system and ideology, capitalism emphasises this individualism as well as the commoditisation of landscapes. These notions are addressed throughout this thesis, particularly as they contribute to comparative interpretations of Tyneside and Chesapeake aesthetic and industrial practices and presentations of such. This is important as it situates the study within a wider discourse of theoretical historical archaeology beyond what may be offered by historical or architectural analyses alone.

In order to address these issues, this thesis focuses on the early modern industrial history of a specific region in England whose rise to prominence is echoed in the culture of architectural patronage among its particular type of merchant élite landholder: the coal barons of Tyneside. The powerhouse of the English and later British (c.1707) coal industry that was County Durham was arguably the one region most influential upon the rise of industrial capitalism in the early modern period and produced a class of market dictator who effectively stewarded the transformation of its landscape into one which served and in some respects created the demands of an increasingly urbanised period more efficiently and systematically than any other region. Such advancement of a select few of this mercantile class coincided with and was facilitated by the emergence of Whiggism from the middle part of the seventeenth century which called for the liberty and individuality of the landholder as property holder and the subjugation of Catholics in the political and economic spheres of English society. It was amidst these historical developments that the coal baron emerged as the absolutist market dictator of the coal industry and was able to define a legacy which could compete with existing gentry by embracing the industrial character of such fortune and promoting this within the context of the designed estate parkland.

This regional study is explored through the lens of an architectural history of the Baronets Ravensworth of Ravensworth Castle, Gateshead: by far the largest shareholders and ironically least studied of the coal barons of Tyneside. The archaeological study of this site forms part of a wider effort on the part of numerous public and private bodies and organisations (discussed in Chapter II) aimed towards the eventual reclamation and restoration of the Ravensworth Estate (currently listed by English Heritage as one of the most “at risk” sites in the North East of England; English Heritage 2012). This particular project was designed bearing in mind the potential for restoration efforts but also as a means towards garnering a set of practical skills necessary in the management, restoration, and stewardship of historic properties. Following nearly a year of negotiation with the current property owners and all other parties involved with its management, as well as with representatives from the aforementioned organisations, access to the Ravensworth Estate was ultimately denied. That said, these initially trying limitations ultimately resulted in a methodology which enriched understandings of the property far more than what could have been accomplished using the site alone and which may serve as a model for investigations of sites where access is less than adequate.

The primary objectives of the thesis are as follows:

- To provide a comprehensive architectural history of an important local landmark, namely the Ravensworth Estate in the Chapelry of Lamesley, Gateshead, Tyne and Wear.
- To illuminate pathways by which post-medieval mercantile élite landholders entered into gentry society without historic precedent, particularly as these relate to the use of architectural and landscape design, the integration of industrial components into estate landscapes, and the diversification of landholdings used for distinct socio-political purposes.
- To address and discuss the arrangement and hierarchy of social and industrial functions within said estate landscapes.

- To lift such estates of the Tyne region out of their local contexts and place these within a wider conversation about the regionality of élite housing culture within a “Georgian Order” and within emerging capitalist societies.

The organisation of the thesis follows a historical and archaeological methodology which employs a comparative model to best illustrate the culture of architectural patronage and competition among merchant élite families as examined in relation to Ravensworth Castle’s architectural development. Following the outlining and justifying of this approach in Chapter II, Chapter III charts the expansion of the coal industry from its earlier organisation under the Bishops of Durham and merchants of Newcastle through to the creation of the Tyneside coal cartels. This chapter is not necessarily aimed towards providing a comprehensive overview of the industry itself but rather to contextualise the phenomenon of the coal baron within the local and wider history of organised coal extraction, transportation, and distribution, paying particular attention to associated alterations of the physical and economic landscapes and situating of coal merchants’ estates within such landscapes. Chapter IV explores and interprets the consequences of the evolving and expanding industrial landscape contextualised in Chapter III by tracing the development of the Ravensworth estate from its earliest known incarnations through to the present day. This historical and contextual approach to landscape archaeology has revealed significant transitional periods in aesthetics and functionality associated which were instrumental in creating the early modern character of the region’s wider landscape, where the amalgamation of initiatives resulted in what ultimately categorised the early modern élite industrial landscape estate in this region.

Chapters V and VI form the core of the thesis by building upon the landscape context established in the preceding chapters to offer a comprehensive architectural history of the principal site which is necessary for achieving a complete understanding of the culture of competition among coal barons and within gentry society. This architectural history centres on the motivations and accomplishments of Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Baronet Ravensworth whose architectural patronage and exploitation of the contemporary political and market climate may be seen as creating a culture of promotion and redefinition for the family. Using Sir Henry Liddell as a benchmark, these chapters examine the ways in which pre-existing onsite features and histories as well as local, regional, and wider precedents influenced what eventually materialised as an architecture of industrialism, further enriching such interpretations by addressing each phase in Ravensworth’s dynamic architectural history as reflective of the objectives and circumstances which influenced their construction and comparing with contemporary local sites to place the architecture of the Liddell family within its regional context. Such interpretations are then combined to address the practices of diversifying landholdings and establishing site-specific objectives. As is discussed in Chapter VI, the owners of the primary site at Ravensworth Castle were perhaps better suited to acquiring a wider range of landholdings than their Catholic contemporaries, seen particularly in their acquisitions of estates formerly owned by Catholic families following the Jacobite rebellions of the early part of the eighteenth century. That said, it should be noted that this thesis does not attempt to present

an archaeology of religion in this sense, where the Protestantism of the Liddell family is not equated with any comparable architectural or town/estate planning developments of Protestants or Catholics in other contexts, particularly that of the contemporary Catholic mercantile élite of the colonial Chesapeake region as discussed in Chapter VII (see in particular Hoffman 2002).

Following on these conclusions, Chapter VII lifts Ravensworth Castle and the Liddell family out of local history and places them within a wider investigation of mercantile capitalism and the “open élite” (Stone & Stone 1984). In order to illustrate and apply wider institutional precedents for merchant élitism, this phenomenon is explored as it materialised in an economically and politically parallel context, the Chesapeake region of the American colonies, where the convergence of industrial and polite society was comparably potent and whose historical archaeology been extensively studied. By comparing with a similar centre of mercantile activity, the industrial engine that was County Durham is to be understood in this context as one example of the satellite regions of England’s empire which emerged in the seventeenth century and which developed regional identities in architecture in response to both associative nods to Britain’s mainland capital (i.e. the “Georgian Order” addressed above) and circumstances specific to their respective industries, climates, and histories. The exploration of this concept represents the core of this thesis and is illustrated most emphatically by comparing its regional examples. The chapter is not necessarily concerned with architectural parallels but seeks instead to explore the means by which architectural and landscape design was employed and experienced in the pursuit of creating lineage, establishing political presence, and in particular defining and maintaining parameters between the landholders and those who served the industries which financed such ascensions into the ranks of élite society. By comparing the coal barons of Tyneside with a class of élite family (i.e. the planter class) better understood in the historical and architectural literature, the investigation of the coal baron of Tyneside is provided with a model for interpreting the various factors which contributed to the aspirations and successes of mercantile landholders throughout the British World.

In addressing the aforementioned objectives through the use of a comparative methodology, where the various components of the Ravensworth Estate are understood as reflective of particular local and wider contexts, the thesis provides an important regional interrogation of a landscape which was designed and modified to present both industrial functionality and gentility in concert. Further to this point, the thesis presents an original contribution to the archaeological and historical study of post-medieval estate housing culture in addressing the diversification of landholding among the mercantile élite, where distinct architectural languages were employed for site-specific objectives. This concept is furthered by the comparative study of contemporary housing culture in the colonial Chesapeake region, wherein the design and functionality of plantation and urban housing may be understood as reflections of the requirements and aspirations of industrial landholding families.

Through the historical and archaeological investigation of housing and industrial culture, this thesis seeks to address the principles of regionalism, individuality, and creation of legacy as expressed in the early modern built environment. The phrase “early modern” used here and throughout the thesis indicates the period from the early seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, and the additional phrase “long eighteenth century” is used to indicate the period c.1670-1810 which comprises the tenures of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Baronets Ravensworth. This phrase is not intended to place all architectural and historical developments of the period within one historical phase but rather is used to highlight the period in which Ravensworth Castle and its contemporaries initiated, promoted, and experienced the greatest overhauls of their industrial, architectural, and social landscapes whose close examination form the basis for the analysis presented.

CHAPTER II

Historical and Archaeological Methodology

Introduction: Towards a Regionality for Élite Housing Culture

As addressed in Chapter I, the overall intention of this study is to present a new interpretation of élite mercantile housing culture through the archaeological and documentary investigation of a particular site, namely the Ravensworth Estate of the Liddell family, and the situating of said site within its regional and global contexts. This chapter outlines the methodologies which were employed to meet these two objectives and makes the case for a novel approach to historical archaeologies of early modern industrial County Durham as informed by comparable studies for other regions.

Historical archaeologies of housing culture of the early modern period have tended to focus on the importance of houses in social organisation (Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995), particularly following introduction of the so-called “Georgian Order” thesis which has been applied by historical archaeologists to interpretations of later seventeenth and eighteenth century architecture in England and its various colonial regions. This thesis put forth by Leone in 1988(a) and forwarded by Johnson to address English material culture (1993, 1996) offers the idea that “regional traditions of vernacular architecture became subsumed under the national style and form of the Georgian house” (Johnson 1996:178). This architectural language of symmetry, order, and associationism with classical forms permeated housing culture during this period (the so-called “long eighteenth century”) and came to represent ideals of virtue and liberty as presented by Whiggism and complying with a shift towards capitalist notions of power, property, and behaviour (see especially Johnson 1996, Orser 1996a, Leone & Potter 1999, and Paynter 1988 and 2000). By recognising such examples of “Georgian” architecture as united in their looking towards a common centre (namely London as a metropole), interpretations of

commonality between patrons and/or occupiers (whether actual or perceived) and the particular characteristics of Georgian Orders as expressed in distinct regions may be offered. That said, such commonality should be understood as a “cautionary tale” which stresses the importance of refraining from generalisation (Hicks & Horning 2006:280).

While the case studies presented in this thesis reveal such a commonality, particularly as it pertains to sociopolitical agendas reflected in architecture, this thesis argues that regional traditions were modified and adapted within a said Georgian language for building but fundamentally reflected objectives for functionality and dwelling which were specific to the regions in question. By studying the estate of the coal-owning Liddell family at Ravensworth Castle as applying elements of this language to a landscape otherwise entirely reflective of its unique historical and industrial circumstances, the principal site may be appreciated first as part of a regional identity of the coal baron, next as situated among the pre-existing gentry of the County Palatine of Durham, and finally within a wider, “open” network of the élite (Stone & Stone 1984). In this manner, methodologies employed for the comparison of élite landscapes in disparate contexts (particularly Orser 1988a and 1996a, Hall 2000, Horning 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2013, and Hicks 2005) serve here as examples of what can be accomplished when historical archaeologies of dissimilar landscapes may be examined alongside each other to better contextualise each within the wider British world.

Among the estates of the coal barons of Tyneside, Ravensworth Castle was by far the largest and, as it shall be argued, the most industrially-active during the period c.1607-1808, the timespan corresponding with the purchase of the parkland by Thomas Liddell (d.1619) through to the commencement of its landscape redesign under the direction of Sir Thomas Henry Liddell 6th Baronet Ravensworth (1775-1855) which form the end boundaries of this study. As an estate which is relatively lacking in academic attention as well as availability of documentary sources (cf. the Bowes family’s estate at Gibside, see Wills 1995), Ravensworth presents the ideal opportunity to utilise a comparative methodology on both the regional and global levels aimed towards the mutual benefit of expanding understanding of the principal site and placing the responses in architectural and landscape design of coal barons within wider contexts of early modern élite housing culture in general. In reconstructing the Ravensworth of the Liddells’ tenure by analysing it among its contemporaries, this thesis may offer a novel approach to interpreting the construction and experience of élite landownership.

This concept of a Georgian Order within a wider, developing culture of capitalism in mercantile practice, as well as architectural and landscape reflections of such, places the importance of historical archaeologies of landscape design and manipulation at the forefront. Whereas most other histories of early modern park and garden culture tend to focus on changes to the appearance of landscapes, this type of analysis primarily situated within the field of art history, the methodologies and interpretations present in this thesis, especially those having to do with industrial functionality, should be seated within

the wider context of British and international historical archaeology. Further to this point, the thesis does not rely solely on methodologies traditionally associated with architectural histories of early modern forms in architecture, instead making clear the benefits of drawing upon approaches from both of the aforementioned disciplines where these serve to enrich the archaeological study of the built environment.

Background to the Case Study

This thesis represents a portion of a larger effort on the part of a number of local and national organisations, each with their own agendas and corresponding methodologies. Beginning in the late 1990s, the present owners of the estate put forth applications to Gateshead Council for a proposed housing development within the parkland. The proposal would require the destruction of much of the surviving elements of the estate. As a consequence of these plans there arose a revived interest in managing the historical resource that is Ravensworth Castle. Several organisations became involved in an effort to protect and eventually restore all or part of the estate, culminating in a bid for inclusion in the 2003 season of BBC's *Restoration*. Ravensworth did not win this bid but the resulting generation of organisational interest (Gateshead Council and Tyne and Wear HER, led particularly by David Heslop) in the site has furthered discussions and kept the project alive.

At present, organisations actively working on the project include Northern Archaeological Associates, a heritage management firm based in Barnard Castle, Co. Durham; Tyne and Wear Historic Environment Record (HER), specifically county archaeologist David Heslop; Beaumont Brown Architects, a hired restoration firm based in Castle Eden, Durham; Gateshead Council; and English Heritage, who in 2010 made an offer to purchase the estate from the present owners with the intention to rebuild part of the house and open the site to its members and paying visitors and have designated Ravensworth Castle as a priority “Heritage at Risk” site (English Heritage 2012:56-7). Contracted and/or initiated responsibilities differ from one organisation to the next yet all share a common goal of preservation. To a certain degree, the methodology of this project is in part informed by these partnerships, where an exchange of resources is in the interests of all parties and to the altogether greater benefit of the site itself.

Available resources have been divided amongst two distinct yet interfaced methodologies. Historical and archaeological techniques are applied to a catalogue of evidence ranging from personal correspondence to below-ground building foundations. By comparison to other Tyneside families prominent during the period (e.g. the Bowes family of Streatlam Castle and Gibside), the landholdings and activity of the Liddell family are far less represented in the historical record. Despite this dearth of primary source material, all available documents have been catalogued and placed in a database (discussed below). This database was used to evaluate all available material based on its value to the present thesis though all records are listed in an Appendix to this thesis for the sake of future enquiry.

As stated above, this thesis should be understood as employing an equally historical and archaeological methodology and in a manner where each contributes to the overall success of the analytical process with the ultimate goal of producing interpretive maps and plans for phases of building at Ravensworth and placing these developments within their regional and global contexts. In dealing with a primary site which was neither accessible nor extant above ground (save for the fourteenth century towers which have remained constant throughout the architectural evolution of Ravensworth Castle), those historical records which survive present the best chance for a comprehensive understanding of the site and, perhaps more importantly, the historical figures whose unique circumstances and resulting preferences and priorities in design dictated the course and character of the site's development. That said, as explained in this chapter and made clear throughout the thesis, a relative dearth of historical evidence relating to the Liddell family of Ravensworth Castle is available for analysis and as such must be complemented by systematic scrutiny of all available archaeological material. In this manner, a holistic understanding of Ravensworth Castle and the family which occupied this site for over three hundred years must employ a comparative model on both the regional and, as is addressed in Chapter VII, the global levels and in relation to contemporary estates and families which may illuminate the nature of elite housing culture in this specific and under-investigated region.

Existing Literature

The thesis draws upon the vernacular studies process for enquiry put forward by Upton and Vlach (1986; which itself drew upon Glassie 1975 and Deetz 1977) to combine approaches of archaeological and historical enquiry with those of cultural history, geography, historic preservation, and folklore in an effort to address historical issues using a cooperative methodology. It is through this interdisciplinary lens that the fragmentary historical and archaeological records of Ravensworth Castle may be evaluated, synthesised, and presented in a cogent manner. Once the architectural history of the primary site has been established through archaeological and historical methods, this synthesised interpretation of its early modern character is compared to contemporary estates in the region and, following the establishing and evaluation of this local context, is placed in comparison with contemporary architectural and landscape design ventures of planters in the colonial Chesapeake region. As such, it is necessary to evaluate and utilise existing source material relating to both the development of the coal industry and gentry society in County Durham (placing the Liddell family in their regional context) as well as the material and social history of the planter class. In comparison with County Durham, the elite housing culture of the Chesapeake region has been investigated on a much broader scale (owing particularly to the work of Deetz, Orser, Leone, Glassie, Yentsch, and Upton) and as such presents an ideal source of scholarship from which to draw wider comparisons. These two catalogues of existing literature are applied to a research framework which follows on from the previous studies referenced above to produce a methodology for examining the role and place of coal-owners' estates within regional and global contexts.

Two primary methodologies have dominated twentieth-century historical investigations of the development of the British coal industry. The early part of the century saw the publication of a series of works which sought to address the period through economic historical means, particularly with Nef's monumental work of 1932: arguably the first major study of the coal industry which did not rely upon broad generalisations and the blurring of transitional periods. Employing a primarily statistical methodology with a high degree of impartiality (assumed at the time to have its greatest appeal among economic historians; Macrosty 1933:511, Usher 1934:316, Williams 1934:74), Nef's approach treated the history of the industry with reference to its role in the development of industrial capitalism. Earlier work by Ashton and Sykes (1929) was concerned primarily with the infrastructure of the industry itself, using thorough consultation of records of firms to explore as well the physiological impacts of coal mining (including those of women and children) and the effect of the industry upon the civic structure of the region. These two works provide excellent general overviews of the industry's expansion and logistical components due in large part to the sheer volume of sources consulted but also owing to their access and attention paid to more exclusive source material (Ashton and Sykes were fortunate enough to examine the papers of such individuals as the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Crawford, and other such dignitaries whose families had played a role in the development of the coal industry).

Following on from these earlier studies, historical works on this period and subject published from the 1980s explored more than simply the statistical data of coal exports to address as well the development and climate of ownership, marketing, and profits of those who dictated the course of the industry (i.e. the Company of Hostmen and later Grand Allies, discussed in Chapter III), particularly Flinn and Stoker (1984) and Hatcher (1993). These two works address the profits of individuals and explore the function of industry dictators in creating the industrial climate, emphasising the roles and rewards of the aristocratic landowning coal barons (while also extending Nef's arguments for an early "industrial revolution," stating instead that the sheer proliferation of extraction accounted for the industry's nearly twelve-fold expansion c.1540-1640). Similarly quantitative methodologies have been put forward by Stone and Stone (1984) who used the numbers and owners of country houses in select counties (Northumberland included) c.1540-1880 to draw conclusions regarding the emergence of a new gentry (referenced throughout this thesis and discussed in detail in Chapter VII). These ideas were furthered by Levine and Wrightson (1991) who made heavy use of legal records and port books of Newcastle to enrich earlier arguments made by Nef but also to present a comprehensive look at a particular place and unpack the experience of a small community in order to illustrate wider themes.

This thesis offers a near wholly qualitative approach to the nature and expansion of élite housing culture among early modern non-gentry families. Following on from the previous methodologies outlined here, most of which were based almost entirely on quantitative data, the examination of physical representations of power, wealth, influence, and legacy is required if a truly holistic interpretation of the

emerging class of mercantile and industrial élite is offered here. In exploring the physical place of industrial landowners through investigations of their associated landholdings, the approach put forth by Levine and Wrightson for the parish of Whickham is applied to investigations of architectural definition and patronage on Tyneside and extended to contextualise these developments within the wider landscapes of the region, mainland Britain, and its colonies. Among the estates of Tyneside's coal barons, as discussed above, it was in this primary site that industry, aesthetics, and historical precedents were most integrated within a single landscape, and such integration is what justifies placing the estate of the Liddell family within a comparative study of coal-owners and Chesapeake planters.

Historical Source Material

Owing to the relative dearth of documentary source material relating to the Liddell family of Ravensworth Castle, of which a small portion is relevant for the present thesis, those sources which are useful for accomplishing the aims and objectives of the thesis have been rigorously exploited. That said, it is important to demonstrate the breadth of evidence relating to the Liddell family which may be used in further research, especially in connection with any future plans for development of the site. These data, which are spread across a range of archives in the North East and further afield, were catalogued in a database from the onset of the project so as to facilitate visits to view the collections, sort documents based on their relevance for the thesis, and build an archive for future research into the family and estate. The database has been converted into a table and placed as an appendix. The structure of the Appendix itself follows a subdivision based on the type of evidence extant, viewed, and/or used in final interpretations offered in the thesis.

Personal Documentation

The core of the thesis (Chapters IV, V, and VI) is focused on the investigation and critical assessment of Ravensworth Castle, particularly during the tenure of the Liddell family (c.1607-1910, when the family removed to their secondary estate at Eslington Park, near Whittingham, Northumberland, following subsidence issues at Ravensworth) who were created Baronets Ravensworth c.1642. The personal records of the Liddell family are relatively scarce compared to that of local contemporary families (e.g. the Clavering, Bowes, or Wortley-Montagu families). As such, the few that do remain at present and are relevant to the thesis are of high value. The collection most useful for this study is housed at Sheffield Archives (henceforth SA) and includes the personal correspondence of Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt and his son John Bright (who assumed this surname following a marriage into the prominent Bright family of Badsworth, Yorks) c.1717-1723 where rebuilding campaigns at Ravensworth Castle, Eslington Park, and Newton Hall are described and illustrated in plans and elevations. These letters provide the best window onto the specific design processes and preferences of the 3rd Bt (arguably the person whose initiatives propelled the family towards architectural redefinition in the landscape, as is discussed at length in Chapters IV, V, and VI) and have been instrumental in unpacking the nature of redesign as well

as the likely inspirations behind the architectural reinventions of the Liddells' various landholdings. Such documentation is not always available for this period and as such provides an added bonus for this case study. Additional correspondence between coal barons is housed at the Tyne & Wear Archive in Newcastle upon Tyne (henceforth T&WA) which has proved useful for gauging reactions to the Jacobite Rebellions (specifically 'The Fifteen,' as discussed in Chapter III) and planned developments of new coal ventures but not for archaeological purposes relating to Ravensworth itself. Collections housed in Palace Green Library at the University of Durham (henceforth PGL), e.g. the Shafto Papers, include personal correspondence as well but, as at T&WA, these collections are primarily related to the exchange of coal rents. Such documents demonstrate the frequency and value of coal rents but the specifics of these interactions between the coal barons are not the focus of this study.

The wills of the various Baronets Ravensworth are, however, of specific value for this thesis, especially those housed in PGL (e.g. will of the 3rd Bt; PGL DPRI/1/1724/L3). These documents provide a baseline for discussions of patriarchy, primogeniture, and the creation, promotion, and retention of legacy as discussed in Chapter VII and are referenced where applicable. Additional wills are housed in the National Archives in London (henceforth NA) though the majority of these are of the nineteenth century which is beyond the scope of this study (with an end date of 1808; exceptions include the will of Thomas Smith, 'Cook of Ravensworth Castle,' dated 18 May 1787; NA PROB 11/1153/167).

Institutional Documentation

The rise to prominence of the coal baron may in many ways be seen as a result of the practice of leasing and other legal matters relating to the coal industry, particularly following the periods of the Grand Lease of Whickham and later Grand Alliance. Documentation of such transactions is referenced periodically to demonstrate this point but systematic analysis is not necessary for the purposes of this thesis. This type of material is housed at the Durham Record Office (henceforth DRO; deeds largely testamentary but including some rentals of collieries), the SA (some late seventeenth century leases, primarily relating to lands in Yorkshire for John Bright, referenced above), the NA (leases of parts of the coalfield), and the Durham Cathedral Library (henceforth DCL; probate and prothontary's records, which are mostly irrelevant for this thesis but available for further enquiry). The Shafto Papers in PGL (addressed above) in particular contain correspondence and minutes relating to the signing and administration of the Grand Alliance and Grand Lease, including a copy of the Grand Alliance itself (the original signed copy is housed at the T&WA; DX973/4/2).

In terms of estate records, the T&WA contains a fair amount of accounts of the landscape and various improvements planned or realised (e.g. fruit trees ordered for Ravensworth Gardens; T&WA DF.HUG/137) though most are either beyond the period in question (i.e. the long eighteenth century), are not descriptive, or do not have dates and were thus deemed irrelevant or of low value to the thesis, save for recording the names of owners of adjacent lands and the demonstration of subdivision practices

in this region (see T&WA DT.BEL/2/55). Additional data has been collected from the records of the County Durham hearth tax assessment of 1666 (edited by Parkinson with an introduction by Green, 2006) and has been evaluated and used where applicable to the thesis.

Maps / Cartographic Sources

Cartographic sources have functioned as one of the primary sources for landscape archaeology since its inception (see Johnson 2005) and were instrumental in creating map regressions to represent and understand the development of the Ravensworth landscape from the thirteenth to the twenty-first century. As has been discussed above, this thesis considers early modern estates from a holistic perspective to include both the house proper and its surrounding landscape in the interpretation of uses and experiences, and as is addressed particularly in Chapter IV, the Ravensworth Estate landscape is one which has evolved over its nearly eight-hundred-year recorded history to reflect the specific objectives of its tenants. Eighteenth century estate maps are relatively sparse in the historical record though a comprehensive assessment of the landscape has been possible using a variety of types of maps from various periods in the site's development. These types and their functions/limitations are outlined in this section.

Regional maps of County Durham and Northumberland (the focus area of this study) such as Speed's 1611 map of the County Palatine (PGL SCM TWCMS C6501) and Gibson's 1788 map of the northern coalfield (PGL DUL NSR Planfile C 22/5) provide the best representations of the medieval character of the landscape and its relationship to the industrial extraction of coal (discussed in Chapter's III and IV). These are supported by estate maps held by PGL (plans of Whickham and Ravensworth Estate, all nineteenth and twentieth century), SA (plans for house and gardens; high value for this thesis and discussed at length in Chapters IV, V, and VI), and the DRO where the most comprehensive and illuminating map of the Ravensworth Estate was discovered (John Fryer's 1785 Plan of Ravensworth Estate; DRO D/Bo/G26/xx).

The Fryer map has largely informed the present interpretation of the estate (discussed at length in Chapter IV), particularly as it records the various paths of access through the landscape which have been analysed and contextualised in terms of the historic modes of approach to the house proper and experiences of the industrial character of the estate. As it was recorded at the point immediately preceding the architectural and landscape overhaul of Ravensworth beginning in 1808 under the direction of the 5th Baronet (later raised to the peerage c.1821 as 1st Baron Ravensworth, second creation following reversion to Baronetcy c.1784), the Fryer map represents the culmination of Ravensworth's development as an industrial parkland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the tenure of the Liddell family. Comprehensive analysis of this map was furthered by comparison with later imagery of the estate parkland, namely the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1857 (copy obtained by permission from the National Library of Scotland) and twentieth-century subsidence maps

(obtained from The Coal Authority with personal assistance from Andrea Holmes). In addition to these historic sources, the Fryer map was compared with current satellite imagery and overlain onto GoogleEarth using ArchiMaps GIS software (with thanks to Dr Brian Buchanan, Department of Archaeology, University of Durham and Janine Watson and Linda Bosveld of University of Durham Archaeological Services). The results of these initiatives are the four annotated maps included with this thesis. These include the outline of Fryer's c.1785 plan overlain across the 2016 OS and the first edition 1857 OS to show context for the estate (Plates 1 and 2), a high-resolution scan of the original map (Plate 3), and an annotated version which has been enhanced to illustrate concepts explained in Chapter IV and discussed throughout the thesis (Plate 4).

Archival Images

Interpretation of the seventeenth and eighteenth century character of the primary site and its associated landscape parkland based on the aforementioned source material has been complemented and enriched by a variety of plans and images of the estate and house proper. The majority of these documents relate to the nineteenth century iteration of the estate (i.e. John Nash house, constructed from 1808) though contribute to the overall interpretation of the evolving estate landscape. The images most useful for this thesis were those few engravings surviving from the eighteenth century which are housed in PGL and the British Library (henceforth BL). These are available to view online and were uploaded to the database of historical source material as they were discovered by the author.

As is discussed at length and exemplified in Chapters IV and V, the available engravings of Ravensworth Castle during the eighteenth century have largely informed the architectural history of the property offered by this thesis, and in this manner the methodology employed may serve as a model for what can be accomplished in historical buildings archaeology when some or all elements of a site have been lost to collapse, abandonment, or dismantling (all of which have contributed to the present condition of Ravensworth's house proper). By scrutinising not only physical evidence as recorded in engravings but also the manner in which the house was depicted and comparing such interpretations with relevant contemporary sites in the region and further afield (the comparative model is discussed further below), the treatment of the estate by the Liddell family may be discussed as it relates to housing culture in general as it was employed and furthered by the emerging élite mercantile class of early modern Britain.

In addition to the documentary sources discussed above, the database of historical source material included below as an appendix represents the most comprehensive assemblage of photographs related to the Ravensworth Estate, collected from a variety of online and office-based archives. These relate primarily to the nineteenth century iteration of Ravensworth for obvious reasons but have been used to further understanding of the architectural transition which occurred at the close of the long eighteenth century. Included in this assemblage are images taken during the dismantling of the house proper c.1953 due to subsidence issues; these images in particular provide excellent views of the north and south

fourteenth century towers which were retained in the design of the nineteenth century house and saved from demolition in the 1950s (see in particular the images available from Gateshead Library Photographic Database). The database also includes a number of aerial photographs from the Norman McCord Collection at the University of Newcastle (taken in 1960, shortly following demolition) which have informed much of the interpretation of the landscape immediately surrounding the house proper and have revealed certain features which contribute to the potential for geophysical survey on the site (discussed below).

The aforementioned historical sources represent the largest current assemblage of material relating to Ravensworth Castle and its associated estate parkland. Though much of this material did not inform or contribute to the present thesis, the database of relevant documentation reproduced in the Appendix may be employed in any further research in connection with rebuilding or conservation efforts. In terms of the present thesis, differing forms of evidence have been considered alongside one another in an effort to extract holistic interpretations of the principal site which may then be compared to contemporary sites in the region and in a wider context (namely the comparison with the Chesapeake region; Chapter VII). This is particularly important when considering the evolution of the landscape and the Liddell family's presentation of industrial components within a Picturesque landscape narrative (discussed at length in Chapter IV, particularly in comparison with the Bowes family's estate at Gibside).

Archaeological Methods

The standing and subsurface remains of Ravensworth Castle's various architectural phases form a central component in this thesis which seeks to illuminate and contribute to understandings of early modern housing culture among the élite mercantile class. While a full archaeological assessment of these remains was not possible during the researching of this thesis, the project has made use of a set of buildings archaeology methods to provide the best possible interpretations of the structure's place within its immediate and wider landscape available under current access restrictions. In this manner, a methodology may be offered for understanding the character of a structure neither publically accessible nor entirely extant above ground in the interest of providing ongoing and similar studies with a rubric for inquiry.

The primary archaeological methods employed to interpret the primary site were visual survey, topographic reconnaissance, and perimeter survey of the associated buildings and landscape. Using the aforementioned cartographic sources as a guide, the author made several trips to the site to make observations of the natural and altered topography, eighteenth century landscape features surviving to the present day (of which there are several), remnants of the medieval deer park enclosure, surviving features of seventeenth and eighteenth century industrial practices, and points of access as they relate to the interior arrangement of the estate and its place within the surrounding landscape of Gateshead and the Team Valley (all of which are discussed in detail in Chapter IV). These observations were used to

offer a new interpretation of the landscape's evolution from the post-Conquest period through to the present day paying particular attention to the arrangement of open and forested spaces and the visibility of the estate from the main road north to Newcastle upon Tyne (now the A1, which runs parallel to Ravensworth's eastern border and associated access road).

In terms of the buildings themselves (either extant or as represented in the surviving antiquarian images discussed above), the author produced a series of original architectural drawings to complement and enrich the analyses offered in this thesis (particularly those in Chapter V, where the architectural history of the primary site is explored in detail). Following on extensive experience in archaeological buildings recording and survey (particularly experience garnered from archaeological recording at the Harriet Tubman Home in Auburn, NY; the Magens-Petersen House in St. Thomas, United States Virgin Islands; St. Mary's Priory Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire; All Saints' Church, Brixworth, Northamptonshire; Escomb Church, Escomb, County Durham; St. Mary the Virgin Church, Seaham, County Durham; and most recently at the Jeremiah Lee Mansion, Marblehead, MA) and a personal foundation in architectural hand drafting, an informed set of drawings may be offered for the purposes of this thesis and future research into the site's architectural development in connection with any restoration efforts undertaken.

Over the course of more than a year, the author consulted with all local, regional, and national parties with direct ties to the site and/or an interest in its management as a cultural resource. These included ongoing discussions with Gateshead Council (Clare Lacy, Senior Conservation Officer), Tyne and Wear Historic Environment Record (David Heslop, County Archaeologist), Summers Inman Construction and Property Consultants (Naomi Atherton, Senior Project Manager), English Heritage (Mike Collins, Historic Environment Advisor and Inspector of Ancient Monuments), Northern Archaeological Associates (Penny Middleton, Project Manager), and George F. White Land Agents (Laura Dixon, Planning Consultant). Access to the Ravensworth Estate is managed and sanctioned by the current property owners (represented by George F. White Land Agents) and despite continued correspondence with all of the organisations and parties listed above, access to the site for non-invasive archaeological survey was ultimately denied by the owners.

Notwithstanding these limitations, it is a goal of this thesis to provide suggestions for future archaeological work at the site and to offer a methodology for such after having employed all other means of inquiry. These are full topographical survey of the estate (a particularly good alternative for recording elevations of multi-phase or ruined buildings; see Seaham fieldwork, July-August 2013) and geophysical survey of the area of the house proper and its immediate periphery (using a combination of magnetometry and resistivity testing; see Gerrard & Aston 1999). Topographical surveying at Ravensworth should involve a comprehensive site walkover and two specialised techniques, namely traditional detail pole survey and laser scanning to generate a point cloud of particularly relevant

portions of the estate. Fortunately for the purposes of this and other investigations, the bounds of the Ravensworth estate have not been significantly altered over the course of the last three hundred years (see comparison of Fryer's eighteenth century estate map and current field boundaries, discussed in Chapter IV). Assuming suitable conditions and reasonably low disruption, the addition of geophysical survey and the resulting greyscale image of belowground features should provide accurate evidence for the use of space and landscape at Ravensworth.

Comparative Methodology

While the aforementioned historical and archaeological methodologies represent the most comprehensive assessment available for the standing and historic structures and parkland at the primary site, this thesis has employed a comparative model for enquiry which provides local, regional, national, and international contexts for Ravensworth Castle as a product of élite housing culture in the early modern period. The selection of sites for comparison was achieved by unpacking the various medieval, early modern, fortified, industrial, and political components present at Ravensworth as illuminated by landscape and architectural analysis. These were then considered alongside case studies of relevant contemporary sites within County Durham, namely the additional landholdings of the Liddell family and the estates of those families belonging to the Grand Alliance of 1726 (discussed in Chapter III) and/or operating within the coal industry during the seventeenth and/or eighteenth centuries (Chapters IV, V, and VI). As addressed above, the scope of comparison with the primary site at Ravensworth Castle was then drawn out to include a comparison with contemporary plantation sites in the Chesapeake colonies of Virginia and Maryland based on existing studies, treating the Chesapeake region as a satellite industrial and economic region of Britain akin to the coal industry present on Tyneside, all of which were focused on London (see in particular Flavell 2010; Chapter VII). This model for enquiry may be seen as a useful means for understanding the motivations and justifications for each phase in the development of a structure for which access is restricted and limited physical evidence remains, where the contextualisation of a principal site becomes the baseline for interpretation.

In comparing the Liddells' estate at Ravensworth with a wide breadth of contemporary sites, the primary site may be situated within the greater climate of élite housing culture while at the same time enriching understandings of the effects of industrial capitalism upon the character of the seventeenth and eighteenth century estate. This approach focuses on the specific aspirations, conditions, and restraints of families seeking to use mercantile and industrial approaches to estate architecture as a means towards creation, promotion, and retention of legacy alongside the requirements and advancement of the industry which supplied the capital used to fund such initiatives. The comparison with the colonial Chesapeake region is particularly useful in this context where an analogy is drawn between the concept of an open élite (Stone & Stone 1984) as applied to mainland English industrial capitalists (e.g. the Liddells and Bowes) and that of the emerging and later dominating planter class in the American colonies. On the local level, comparisons which make use of the wealth of historical research relating to

the Bowes family of County Durham have cast a new light on this family in terms of their relationship with the Liddells of Ravensworth Castle: a central theme of this thesis which highlights the competitive nature of housing culture among the mercantile élite.

Conclusions

The impetus for grand architecture cannot be known without an understanding of the circumstances which demand it. This chapter has outlined the pursuit, evaluation, integration, and application of historical and archaeological methodologies which have been employed to address the various aims and objectives of the thesis within the parameters of the available source material. Previous methodologies concerned with the British coal industry and its market directors and with the interpretation of colonial identities as compared with those of mainland Europe have been reviewed and critiqued over the course of the research process and certain aspects employed in the analyses presented here. As previously stated, this project represents one part of a wider, ongoing initiative towards the preservation of Ravensworth Castle and recommendations for such future work at the site have been offered based on the limitations and potentials realised during this study. Given these limitations, it should be understood that the comparative approach employed presents a novel interpretation of the material within its wider contexts, the benefits of which are demonstrated throughout this thesis.

CHAPTER III

Industry and Landscape in their Medieval and Early Modern Contexts

*"England's a perfect world! has Indies too!
Correct your Maps: New-Castle is Peru."*

News from Newcastle, London, 1651; quoted in Turner 1921:3

The Context of Industry

During the period of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, English landed gentry society encountered a newcomer in the form of the élite merchant. In order to understand changes in the architectural and landscape climates of the long eighteenth century, specifically those associated with and participating within industrial landscapes, this thesis seeks to plot the historical development of this novel class of players in order to understand reflections and presentations of power and influence as expressed in material culture. For the merchant élite of the long eighteenth century, competition both between merchants and within wider English gentry society created a climate where architectural reflections of virtue and political values were employed to promote the significance of families. Such reflections did not attempt to hide the means by which a family had attained such status; rather, the emerging industrial landscape was incorporated into the landscape of estate housing culture, each of these influencing the other and participating in a conversation on wealth, prosperity, and property in unison.

For the North East of England, such a landscape was forged out of an expanding and evolving coal industry, described well in the above quote from the *News from Newcastle*, 1651. The architectural and

landscape histories of the merchant élite in this region are intimately connected to the extraction, transport, and trade of coal (see Welford 2010 for comparisons with other industries of the region, namely glass, steel, and paper, the first of which is discussed in Chapter VI), where each contributed to the success of the other and produced the society in which families such as the Liddells and Bowes could create physical representations of their role and legacy using languages of architectural and landscape design that were based on an interplay with such industry: a desire for proximity to industry which was called into question by nineteenth and twentieth century observers (see Wills 1995). For these reasons, understandings of the historical origins and expansion of the North East coal industry are critical for the proper contextualisation of the architecture produced by this period. The merchant and gentry élite of Tyneside exploited this new industry for the personal gain of themselves and their families, and as such the early modern industry of coalmining must be placed within its historical context, beginning with its medieval origins and tracing its expansion through to the period of the Baronets Ravensworth.

This chapter presents the elements of the coal industry's historical development which influenced the creation of the élite coal-owning class, highlighting first the natural resources of the region and thenceforth charting the expansion of the industry from the thirteenth century up to the long eighteenth century and the creation of Tyneside's coal cartels. The chapter is not intended to provide a comprehensive overview of the North East coal trade, nor indeed of the industry of coal extraction in general (the four major studies of the coal industry are Nef 1932 (1966 reprint), Flinn & Stoker 1984, Levine & Wrightson 1991, and Hatcher 1993: all of which serve as baselines for this discussion). Rather, the chapter presents, discusses, and contextualises those economical, technological, and organisational elements of the coal industry which had direct or indirect influences on the rise of the coal-owning merchant élite, paying particular attention to the physical impacts of industry upon the landscape (particularly the use of wayleaves, or the routes upon which waggons of coal were transported, oftentimes through lands formerly used for agriculture, and the situating of coal merchants' estates; see Allen 1994 and Green & Parkinson 2006:xxxv which discuss the decline of agriculture following increased industrialisation of the landscape), the regional and global consequences of which are interpreted further in Chapters IV and VII, respectively. Alongside explorations of these physical impacts of the coal business, the chapter will trace the precursors of the "coal baron" and its rise to prominence in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Beginning with the hostmen of Newcastle, particularly following the formation of the Company of Hostmen c.1600, the coal market on Tyneside evolved to become one where relatively few players controlled the lion's share of the industry and in many ways were able to dictate its course. Newcastle businessmen following on the heels of earlier merchants of the "sea-coal" trade (from the 13th and 14th centuries; discussed below) were ideally suited for advanced company organisation and cartelised marketing (Pollard 1980:212) and created a climate which would eventually produce an oligopoly of coal owners (Cromar 1977) which ultimately led to the

formation of the Whig cartel known as the Grand Alliance in June of 1726, signed between the Bowes, Wortley, and Liddell families (discussed below).

Despite the advantage of the Liddell family in being raised to the peerage in 1642, the success of such a merchant did not necessarily depend on recognition from outside observers. Rather, the coal baron should be seen as the élite coal owner who manages and/or oversees all elements of industry and trade from pithead to sale in the markets of London: the comprehensive control over one's market share. Such a command of resources and presentation of the individual within the landscape was what allowed the coal baron to compete and contend with existing landed gentry of far more ancient manorial origins, particularly during periods of political and religious upheaval. Within the region which was "one of the earliest industry-oriented societies" (Clavering 1995:21), the coal baron functioned as the administrative and managerial dictator of the industrial landscape, the effects of which influenced the nature of the industry in the primary focus period of this thesis (c.1680-1830). If the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be summarized by the massive expansion of industrial practices and the creation of roles for their management, what followed was a period of capitalisation on these developments. The eighteenth century may be seen as the period in which the engine of industry was synthesised to the point where a select few market dictators could manipulate its course within the confines of the system established during the previous two centuries. While the rates of expansion of the coal industry levelled off during the eighteenth century, the profits of the coal barons continued to increase regardless, where dominance over and manipulation of the market became the cornerstones of success.

Medieval Origins

In order to properly contextualise the transformations of the political, social, and physical landscapes which occurred as a result of an increasing coal trade in the region, particularly as they relate to the early modern functionality of the principal estate at Ravensworth Castle, it is necessary to provide a background of the region's historical relationship with the extraction, marketing, and distribution of coal. The extraction of coal has been a figure of the economy of Newcastle upon Tyne since at least the thirteenth century (Blake 1967:1). Situated nearby to the source of one of England's major rivers and surrounded by its richest and most extensive near-surface and deep seams, the city of Newcastle (ranked third wealthiest provincial town in the mid-fourteenth century, after Bristol and York; Hoskins 1959:176, Beresford 1967:261-2, Fraser 1969:65) was ideally suited for the industrial extraction and shipment of coal that would characterise its history for the best part of four hundred years. From the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, much of the coal transported from Newcastle seems to have been used for large-scale projects, particularly for the repair and/or armament of royal defences and residences and within the monastic houses of the North East (Blake 1967:5-8), though at the same time its domestic usage increased steadily. For the majority of coal extracted, primary uses included the burning of lime for building projects (London limeburners of the later Middle Ages preferred to use coal

despite the stench and mess it brought to the city; Levine & Wrightson 1991:5), as a fuel alternative (to replace brushwood and charcoal, increasingly the norm from the fourteenth century; Blake 1967:5, Levine & Wrightson 1991:6, citing Dendy 1899:xxix), or for iron-smelting for items not requiring of too much precision in craftsmanship (e.g. military defences; Blake 1967:4). During this period the limeburner and blacksmith were by far the most common customers of the coal merchant.

For the most part, coal extracted before the later part of the fifteenth century was obtained at or near the surface, usually along a plateau (e.g. the elevated portion of the parish of Whickham, which is discussed in detail below) or washed up on the banks of the river (called “sea-coal”). From the fifteenth century, methodologies and their effect on the landscape shifted towards the use of pillar and stall workings (see Watson 1979:87-8), the earliest known use of which is found at Coleorton Hall in Leicestershire (dated mid-fifteenth century using archaeological dendrology; York & Warburton 1990-1, cited in Hatcher 1993:198). Other examples include the mining sites at Mallygill Wood and Cockfield Fell, the former of which features remains of coal workings surviving in the form of surface earthworks lying directly above the areas which have been exploited, likely related to recorded mining interests at nearby Rainton (1km north east) (Mallygill Wood, HistoricEngland.org.uk, Listing Ref. 1018232). The latter site at Cockfield Fell was the site of mining licensed by the Bishop of Durham from at least the early fourteenth century (Guy & Atkinson 2008:55).

As at Cockfield Fell, the majority of coal workings during this period fell under the oversight of ecclesiastical bodies. During the fourteenth century, the Bishop of Durham owned and leased mines at Chester-le-Street, Darlington, Ferryhill, Gateshead, Hett, Lumley, Manchester, Rainton, Whickham, and Winlaton, while the Prior of Tynemouth held mines at Benwell, Cowpen, Denton, Elswick, Tynemouth, and Wylam (a more detailed explanation of such distribution can be found in Galloway 1880, cited in Blake 1967:23). These high officials of the Church essentially acted apart from Newcastle burgesses (and indeed the King himself) and effectively controlled (and limited) the distribution of coal from Durham: a county with perhaps the greatest share of natural reserves of this material (e.g. a 1314 mandate from Edward II stating that the Bishop of Durham had the right to load and unload any amount of material at any point on the Tyne, and could not be forced to unload by Newcastle burgesses; Hardy 1874:1014-15). While some Newcastle merchants were able to profit from leases within this burgeoning industry, namely William Paytfyne of Newcastle (leasing at Axwell Park in 1320, 10s per annum), Sir Robert Delaval (leasing at Le Chester in 1334), and Thomas Fennum (leasing at Fenham in 1330), the vast majority of early pits were leased by the Bishop (see Blake 1967).

While the growth of coal exports remained relatively low and steady during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the sixteenth and especially seventeenth centuries appear to have seen not only massive gains in the rates of extraction and shipment but substantial changes to the overall consumption practices and landscape of England in general. Rather than expanding due to technological advances, the industry of

coal extraction was forced to grow as a result of an overall greater demand for alternative fuel sources. From the 1530s through to the 1650s, England's population increased from 2.75 million to roughly 5.25 million, nearly doubling within the space of one hundred and twenty years (Wrigley & Schofield 1981, cited in Hatcher 1993:31). Increases in population meant expansion of agricultural practices, which in turn led to greater deforestation and, as such, a general decline of wood as a fuel source. Alongside and resulting from this unprecedented spike in the population, depletion in the availability of timber led to hikes in the price of wood for fuel and a move towards coal as the cheaper alternative, especially in London which was experiencing a period of rapid expansion (Smailes 1935:203).

By the early part of the seventeenth century, coal had become London's staple fuel source and one which would remain in demand for the greater part of the next three hundred years (Hatcher 1993:40; such a thirst for North East coal is highlighted in the reactions of Londoners when the ports were blockaded by the Scots during the Civil War; see Nef 1932:198). At the end of the seventeenth century, London was burning approximately 400,000 to 450,000 tons of North East coal (approximately 13,500-15,000 Newcastle chaldrons, where one chaldron in 1694 was equal to 5,940 pounds; Ashworth & Pegg 1986:559-560) per annum: roughly seventy to eighty percent of all coal leaving Tyneside and Wearside (Hatcher 1993:41-2), London being incidentally the most treeless of regions in England. By the turn of the eighteenth century, coal supplied over half of England's fuel needs (Hatcher 1993:55) and the country had generally accepted a dependence on coal (the woodland equivalent of usage in 1700 would cover 1/5 of the kingdom; Clavering 1995:213). Such demand was met by a response from the North East which completely reimagined the industrial functionality of the region, transforming and exploiting its landscape into one which could supply the greater part of the kingdom's fuel needs with material originating mostly from a single river mouth onto the North Sea.

Several scholars (namely Nef, McCord, Hatcher, and Levine & Wrightson) have attempted to highlight such growth by comparing the average tonnages of coal recorded as leaving the port of Newcastle at specific points in the period c.1500-1700. It is generally accepted that shipments probably did not exceed 15,000 tons per annum during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Nef 1932: 1, 10, Blake 1967:25, citing *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, ed. Hardy 1874:1014-15). Combining data from the above mentioned sources, the following chart represents the best estimates of increases in tonnes of coal shipped from the North East, the majority of which originated in Newcastle:

Average Tonnes of Coal Exported from the North East

1508-1511	45,000
Michaelmas 1563 – Michaelmas 1564	32,951
Michaelmas 1574 – Michaelmas 1575	56,487
Michaelmas 1591 – Michaelmas 1592	112,124
Michaelmas 1597 – Michaelmas 1598	162,552
1595-1600	220,000
Michaelmas 1608 – Michaelmas 1609	239,271
Christmas 1633 – Christmas 1634	452,625
June 1658 – June 1659	529,032
Christmas 1684 – Christmas 1685	616,016
1680-89	800,000
1700	650,000
1826	2,000,000

(Nef 1932:21, McCord 1979:14, Levine & Wrightson 1991:3-4, Hatcher 1993:45)

With an almost twenty-four-fold increase from the 1560s to 1680s, the merchant shipping industry was forced to grow much faster than the industries it serviced (timbre and coal) due to ever greater demands for cheap exports from an increasing number of foreign and domestic ports (Davis 1956). Though Newcastle had exported to regions such as Holland, Zeeland, France, Flanders, and Scotland (considered international at this stage) from the fourteenth century (Kerling 1954:121, Blake 1967:13-16), by the later part of the seventeenth century coal extracted from seams in the North East was being shipped to Ireland, Portugal, and Germany as well, besides being sent to other areas within England. By this stage, ships made an average of five trips per year between Newcastle and London (Hausman 1977:465), bearing in mind loading times and reduced travel in winter (Hausman 1977:468, 470-1, Levine & Wrightson 1991:9), and most were not used explicitly for this purpose (many were used as far afield as the American colonies for purposes not necessarily relating to the coal trade, e.g. *The Cleveland* which was employed for the transport of Tyneside coal in 1728 and 1729 yet made the journey to Carolina in 1730; Smith 1961:107).

Thus, the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries saw unprecedented and not since matched increases in the rate of extraction from the North East of England in reaction to a national and international spike in population and an accompanying shift in fuel source practices. In order to accommodate such demands, the landscape of the North East shifted from one of primarily agrarian function to the industrial centre of early modern England, indeed “one of the earliest industry-oriented societies” (Clavering 1995:211). The role of the coal trade in furthering and encouraging the industrial revolution has been a topic for ongoing debate, namely stemming from claims of its influence on Britain’s industrial economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Clapham 1926, Nef 1932, Ashton 1948, Deane 1965, Braudel 1981) and rebuttals of such claims from the 1980s onwards (McCloskey 1981, Crafts 1985, Mokyr 1990). This noted, other more recent scholars maintain coal as the primary actor in shaping England’s industrial development (Wrigley 1987, Pomeranz 2000). Regardless of its role within the wider history of industrial society, coal was instrumental in late medieval and early modern redefinitions of the landscape of North East England. Its accompanying industry shaped the region’s physical, economic, political, and indeed social character, particularly during the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the emergence of the élite coal owners such as the Liddells of Ravensworth Castle and the resulting social relationships between them and the large and growing populations of men employed to mine and move coal over the landscape. In giving new significance to such older families as the Lambtons, Lumleys, and Bowes (Clavering 1995:12) while at the same time bringing Newcastle’s mercantile and political families (such as the Tempests, Coles, Riddells, and Liddells) into local and eventually national prominence, this landscape of the Tyne Valley and surrounding region was in effect redrawn to account for the industrial ventures of a select few as well as the housing and employment of those who served the cartels (see in particular Levine & Wrightson 1991:189-91 and Green & Parkinson 2006:lxv where such social relations are discussed in relation to the distribution of types of houses in the landscape).

New Industry

As the overall goal of this thesis is to explain the pathways by which early modern families of the merchant class were able to achieve élite status by exploring the particular initiatives of the Liddells of Ravensworth Castle, it is important to understand the industries which made their rise possible. Conversely, while the previous section has highlighted outside factors contributing to the rise of an industrial landscape in the North East of England, the mechanisms employed in fostering, integrating, and creating such industry may be attributed to the efforts of these families, where individuals and cooperatives played a direct role in redesigning the landscape to accommodate their objectives. This section will present the various features of an evolving industrial landscape in the Tyne region of County Durham and Northumberland, paying particular attention to those factors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which influenced the landscape of the long eighteenth century and contributed to changes in the relationships between working and gentry classes in the region and the rise and

exploitative practices of the coal baron. For the Liddell family, who during this period would enter into the coal market, acquire the property and estate at Ravensworth Castle, and establish themselves as one of (if not the) premier coal-owning families in the region, the specifics of this family's rise to prominence will be highlighted within the contexts of the aforementioned contributing factors. In this manner, it is possible to contextualise the tenure of the 3rd and 4th Baronets Ravensworth within a wider narrative of Newcastle upon Tyne's early modern transformation from provincial port to industrial epicentre.

Included in this section are descriptions and analyses of certain elements of the coal trade which require explanation within the context of this thesis. These relate to the development of the Parish of Whickham into the undisputed epicentre of mining activity from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries and the various innovations in engineering contributing to its success and thus to the success of those coal owners operating in the area. As shall be demonstrated, the expansion of industry in Whickham and Gateshead is intimately connected with that of the fortunes and prominence of major coal-owning families. The primary focus of this thesis is on landscape, architecture, and material culture associated with and relating to the merchant élite and, as such, certain aspects of early mining history (e.g. the experiences of pitmen, see Ashton & Sykes 1929:14-32, 86-7, and 141-3, Harris 1976, and Kirby 2013 which discusses the paleopathological effects of coalmining among children; and of keelmen, see especially Turner 1916, Turner 1921, and Fewster 2011) are not necessary for establishing context. That said, it should be understood that the human experience of the landscape features prominently in the overall argument, particularly that of the aspiring coal owner of Newcastle's merchant class in relation to that of those serving new industrial ventures.

Following Hatcher, the beginnings of the explosion of the North East coal trade can be pinpointed to the 1570s and 1590s when shipments increased by nearly four times (Hatcher 1993:78). From the latter part of the sixteenth century, pits near to the Tyne had nearly exhausted their reserves of easily obtained coal and growing demand for this natural resource as a fuel alternative meant deeper pits needed to be sunk. Following the seams south and west from the Tyne, the majority of coal was to be extracted from the areas inland from the North Sea and below the river. By the middle part of the seventeenth century, ninety-seven percent of the region's coal was shipped from the town of Newcastle and the majority of such had been extracted from pits sunk along the southern banks of the Tyne within or nearby to Gateshead, the most productive being those at Whickham, Winlaton, Blaydon, Stella, Ryton, and Ravensworth just south of the Team Rivulet (Hatcher 1993:78). The largest of these was Whickham, which dwarfed all others by comparison and accounted for roughly thirty percent of all coal extracted from County Durham in the 1630s (Hatcher 1993:79).

While Levine and Wrightson's 1991 volume on the Parish of Whickham's role in the North East coal trade does not need to be paraphrased here, certain elements of this study shall be reproduced in order to contextualise the wider landscape which surrounded the principal site of Ravensworth Castle, which lies along the eastern edge of the parish where it borders Gateshead and the Team tributary (Figure 1).

Owing to its size, available and high-quality seams of coal, and proximity to water on all sides, Whickham was most certainly the most productive and important area of activity for the Tyneside coal industry from as early as the fourteenth century through to the period of the Liddells' occupation of Ravensworth (Smailes 1960:133, Levine & Wrightson 1991:13). Whickham encompasses almost six thousand acres from this easternmost point to the Derwent where it borders Ryton, and to the Blackburn where it borders the Chapelry of Lamesley (Levine & Wrightson 1991:10). There are three principal settlements at Swalwell, Dunston, and Whickham Town (Figure 2; Levine & Wrightson 1991:12).

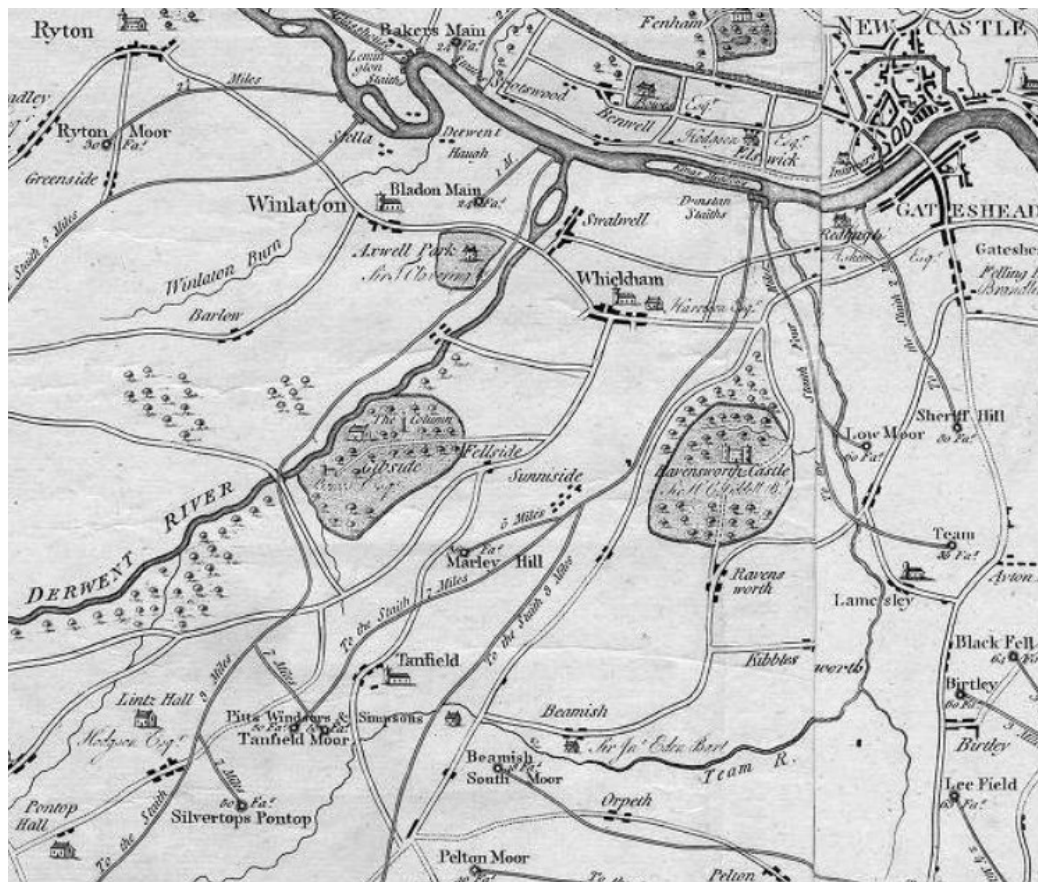


Figure 1: Detail of Plan of the Collieries on the Rivers Tyne and Wear
John Gibson 1788 (DUL NSR Planfile C 22/5)

Besides being the location of nearly all of Tyneside's most productive collieries, Whickham's significance to this thesis lies primarily in the history of its leasing system, which incidentally can be targeted as one of the primary reasons for its success as an industrial landscape. Under the leasing system, a lessee paid a fixed rent for coal extracted up to a certain minimum quantity and per unit thereafter (the latter being the "tentale" rent; Clarke & Jacks 2007:57-8). On the 1st of February 1578, Elizabeth I obtained from Bishop Richard Barnes of Durham, by far the largest shareholder of mining activity in the County Palatine (DUL CCB B/175/54137/7), an unprecedented ninety-nine-year "Grand Lease" of "all mines as well opened as not opened" within the parish (Levine & Wrightson 1991:18) which was thereafter

negotiated out of the hands of the crown and into those of the town council members (Clavering 1995:228). Newcastle merchants looking to enter into an expanding coal industry could thus obtain the rights to extract material at specific locations providing the initial capital was available. For the Liddells, a Newcastle mercantile family, this meant negotiating the lease of the rector's glebe land at Allerdeans in 1597, where Thomas Liddell (d.1616) "bestowed exceedinge great charges in tryinge and seekinge for coals and in wyninge the myne and so att last to his great costs gott coles ther" (DRO 2/10/54, quoted in Levine & Wrightson 1991:15). Though technically within the Chapelry of Lamesley (Figure 2), this lease at what was known as Blackburn Colliery is likely the first recorded instance of the Liddell family in relation to the coal trade. By 1617, a new version of this lease (dubbed the Whickham Grand Lease) resulted from the sum of four considerable partnerships obtained from Newcastle Town Council. Without outside regulation, these new lessees were free to drive up the price of coal by controlling the flow of material out of the Tyne region as well as closing certain pits in order to "diet" the trade (Levine & Wrightson 1991:21).

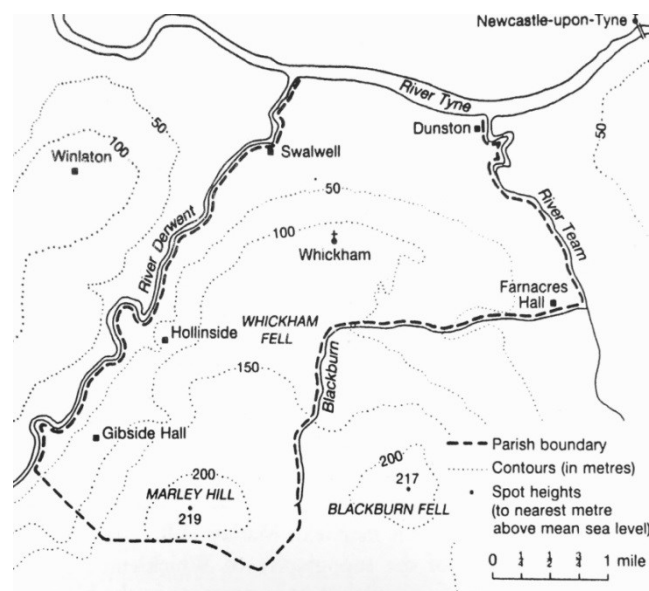


Figure 2: Plan of the Parish of Whickham c.1650
(Levine & Wrightson 1991:12, copyright permission pending)

In 1635, Sir Thomas Liddell (sheriff of Newcastle in 1609, mayor in 1625 and 1636, and later to become Member of Parliament for Newcastle in 1640 and 1st Baronet Ravensworth on 2 November 1642 following his role in defending Newcastle against invading Scots; Cokayne 1900:205) was the proprietor of Blackburn Colliery and negotiated with the copyholders of Whickham for the right to move coal through their lands (Nef 1966:437), no doubt making a significant mark on the predominantly pastoral agricultural landscape and dislocating such practices in the area (see particularly Levine & Wrightson 1991:87-89, 135-36). Since Thomas Liddell (d.1616)'s first collieries at Blackburn and later Ravensworth were at located further inland than Whickham and other major Tyneside collieries, transportation costs would have been higher as coal needed to be moved over land using waggonways (or "wayleaves"; the term "waggonway" has elsewhere been written as wagonway and waggon way, though in most cases

using the former spelling) through the Parish of Whickham. These wayleaves, used to drive waines over land, were essential for moving coal from pithead to docks (or “waines”), and as such were sometimes valued three or even four hundred times the price of comparable land nearby (Nixon 1739, cited in Turner 1921:9; much has been written on the use of wayleaves in the coal trade, see in particular Dunn 1844:39-44, Mott 1964, Lee 1945, and Lee 1951).

As the coal industry expanded, so too did the network of waggonways which cut through the landscape from pithead to staith. The best preserved archaeological remains of early waggonways are those uncovered at Lambton D Pit in Sunderland by Ayris et al (1998:5), where over one hundred and fifty metres of *in situ* wooden track was exposed and analysed (other archaeological studies include Mann 1984, Rennison 1987, Lewis 1996, Goodchild 1998, and Glover 2005). These wooden rails (in most cases cut from oak, fir, ash, or elm; Ayris et al 1998:11) formed part of a network of waggonways which serviced Bournmoor Colliery (operated by the Lambton family of Lambton Castle near Chester-le-Street, County Durham), connecting the pit to the main Lambton Waggonway (portions of which can be traced to the late seventeenth century) and thus to the River Wear (Ayris et al 1998:5). While these tracks were likely laid in the last decades of the eighteenth century following the sinking of pits at Bournmoor c.1789-91 (Ayris et al 1998:5), the complexity of their arrangement highlights the sophistication of land-based infrastructure required to move coal from pithead to staith as well as the interconnectedness of these networks of waggonways. Interpretation of the archaeological finds here also showed an apparent tendency to reuse and replace elements of track (shown particularly in the variety of rail lengths; Ayris et al 1998:17), indicating an impermanence and adaptiveness of the lines, the need for continued replacement due to excessive use (work likely carried out by “waggon wrights”, a trade developed out of and specific to the coal industry; see Levine & Wrightson 1991:49-51), and indeed the dynamic character of these landscapes of industry (discussed at length in Chapter IV).

In 1669, under the direction of Sir Thomas Liddell 2nd Baronet (d.1697), construction was completed on the “Old Way” or “Ravensworth Way” which extended from Ravensworth and Blackburn collieries to the south-east of Whickham along the Team Valley to the Team Staithes, “an undertaking that was reckoned to make possible a doubling of Sir Thomas Liddell’s colliery profits” (Levine & Wrightson 1991:54). Having control of wayleaves meant the owner was able to expand the coal interests of his family and take in unregulated profits from those who wished to make use of such routes. Taking in further capital by renting the use of wayleaves meant the coal owner could expand to other parts of a seam and, provided the initial capital was available, could make engineering improvements to existing collieries. With deeper pits came a slew of engineering problems which needed to be remedied, not least of which was the steady removal of water so that underground coal faces could be worked effectively. When these faces extended too far from the initial pit, secondary shafts needed to be sunk from ground level to assist in hauling material up from the face (at this stage this was accomplished using a horse-driven gin).

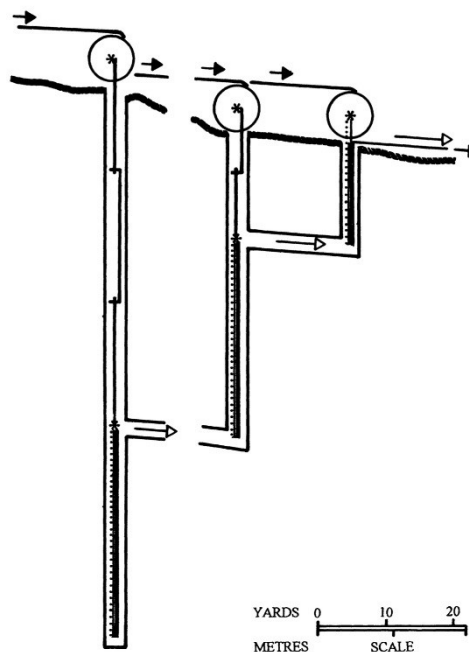


Figure 3: Ravensworth Engine c.1670 (Clavering 1995:126)
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From the latter part of the seventeenth century, a number of larger collieries addressed this issue by making use of waterwheels (or “coalmilns”; Clavering 1995:211). Such was the case at Ravensworth Colliery, where from 1669 the older engine at Chow Dene Foot was replaced with a treble-mill waterwheel system (see Figure 3, showing aqueducts moving water over wheels which in turn hoisted water out of the pit) that tapped the Blackburn which bounded the estate and drained upland of South Whickham (to which Liddell had rights as included in the Whickham Grand Lease): illustrating well the transition from “extensive” mining to the later nucleated colliery (Petts & Gerrard 2006:93). This was orchestrated by the 2nd Baronet, and it was for this purpose that The Trench, a two-mile leat or millrace, was dug to carry water obtained from the Blackburn across Ravensworth ridge and to a new engine across the Team at Cow Close (see Figure 4). To compare, a plan of Lumley colliery (DRO D/X/P41, reproduced in Clavering 1995:239) shows the use of nine waterwheels (Clavering 1995:224), likely developed by Henry Lambton and Robert Delaval who leased the colliery for 21 years from 1654 (PRO C8 215/38, cited in Clavering 1995:224). From the moment the 2nd Baronet built his Ravensworth Engine (completed c.1670), the family dominated the coal industry on Tyneside. This innovation in drainage allowed the Liddells to methodically and recurrently extract 1,000 T per annum (Clavering 1995:229; a “vending ten” was 10 Newcastle chaldrons, or 46.7 cubic yards (Greenwell 1888:86-7), or 26.5 tons at shipside; a “great colliery” exported 1,000 T or more per annum, Ravensworth being one of these). No other large watermills are known to have existed in the Team Valley, and that of the Baronets Ravensworth was not replaced until 1750.

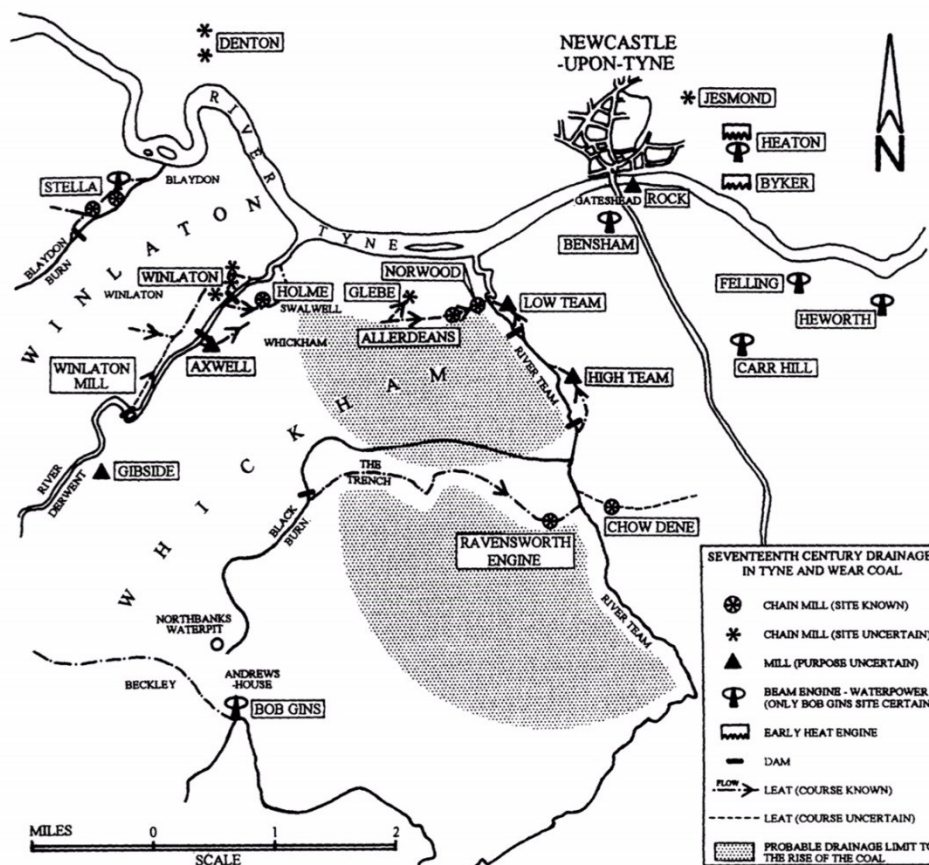


Figure 4: Exploitation of Tyneside water resources for colliery drainage, showing 'The Trench' (Clavering 1995:125, copyright permission pending)

Given these challenges and the complexity of engineering required to remedy them, it is not surprising that entry into the industry was limited to the few who were not only able to put up the initial capital but were also prepared to risk such capital which may not have proved fruitful in the least. Those members of Newcastle's merchant "hostmen," who are discussed in the section to follow, were perhaps the best situated for such undertakings, having accumulated considerable wealth from the sea-coal trade, having security in their industry (following a 1529 Act of Parliament which gave exclusive rights to trade in Tyneside coal to the citizens of Newcastle; Nef 1932:1, 21, cited in Levine & Wrightson 1991:16), and already possessing the necessary experience in forming successful business partnerships. From here, a successful hostman (and his family) could begin to create a base of operations centred on a specific place in the landscape, as "well-chosen estates could consolidate a family's industrial strength" (Levine & Wrightson 1991:24).

The Coal Baron

Following his imprisonment by the Hostmen of Newcastle in 1653, Ralph Gardiner issued a petition to Cromwell demanding that this corporation of local merchants be subject to regulation by a higher authority:

“[Hostmen are] ingrossers of all Coals, and other commodities, into their own hands. [...] They will not suffer any of the Coal Owners in any of the two Counties to sell their Coals, but the Owners must either sel their Coals to the free Hoast-men, at what price they please, and then all ships must give them their price, or get none” (Gardiner 1655, reprinted 1796:iv).

In the industry of coalmining may be found some of the earliest instances of capital concentration, advanced company organisation, and cartelised marketing (Pollard 1980:212). With the explosion of demand for North East coal came a system of local governance and policy over the sale of coal which stood essentially unregulated by outside bodies and thus produced a locally dominant series of monopolising groups, the most powerful of which was the Hostmen (see particularly Graves 2003), who in 1600 confederated to form the Company of Hostmen, adding ten to forty new members of this “coal guild” each year thereafter (Clavering 1995:214). It is from this point of formation of the Company that the cartelisation of Newcastle’s coal trade can be traced, the evolution of which would produce an oligopoly of coal owners (Cromar 1977) and eventually led to the formation of the Grand Alliance of Whig coal barons in 1726 (Bowes of Gibside, Wortley of Wortley Hall, and Liddell of the principal site at Ravensworth Castle). In essence, the Hostmen of Newcastle may be seen as the root of the “coal baron,” or the élite coal owner who controls and/or oversees all elements of trade from pithead to sale in the markets of London. Beyond their mercantile holdings, and indeed owing to such success, hostmen played an active role in local and national politics, further serving the interests of the merchant above all other concerns. From 1600, following the issue of a new charter for Newcastle, only hostmen could participate in the coal trade and, by refusing to buy from non-members, could effectively limit profits to a small group of partners (Levine & Wrightson 1991:22). As such, the Hostmen (and particularly those Hostmen who retained shares in the Grand Lease, “the leaders of Newcastle’s merchant oligarchy”; Levine & Wrightson 1991:23) were extraordinarily successful, with Sir Thomas Liddell 2nd Bt himself said to have been worth £2000 per annum (Howell 1967:14-15, cited in Levine & Wrightson 1991:23).

By the middle and later part of the seventeenth century, “oligarchs” of the trade had gained such status within and in some respects beyond the local industrial landscape that their place within local and national society and government was subject to changing political and religious conditions. For the Liddells of Ravensworth (landowners from 1607), this is seen in their prominence in local government (Newton 2006:39) as well as rewards from the King (created Baronets in 1642) for defending Newcastle from Scots in the 1640s and promoting the royalist cause (cf. Delavals, who were also royalists; Clavering 1995:197-8). Such success did not proceed unchallenged, as can be seen in an episode from May of 1645 when Sir Thomas Liddell 1st Bt had articles exhibited against him accusing he and other Hostmen of seeking to engineer a monopoly on sales of coal “for their own private lucre and profit”

(which, of course, was absolutely true; Surtees Society 1905:273, cited in Clavering 1995:138). Despite these charges, the 1st Bt was regarded as “a most energetic and committed cavalier” of the royalist cause up until his death in 1652 (Clavering 1995:138-9).

While the awarding of their title of Baronets Ravensworth can in some sense be seen as the turning point for the Liddell family’s arrival into the class of the merchant élite, their contemporaries did not receive such titles (e.g. the Bowes of Streatlam Castle and Gibside). What was more important, especially within the context of this thesis, were the steps a family (particularly a Hostman’s family) could take to develop a family business in the coal trade and, thus, a tangible dominance over other less successful merchants, religious and/or political regulation, and all those who serviced the industry itself. By this stage in the middle part of the seventeenth century, the majority of prominent coal owners were landowners as well (Griffin 1977, Buxton 1978, Flinn & Stoker 1984, cited in Clark & Jacks 2007). Following Newton, “the property market on Tyneside was buoyant in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, providing opportunities for prosperous merchants to participate in it” (Newton 2006:35). Newton cites the example of Alexander Davison, a Newcastle merchant who purchased lands in County Durham from 1615 and by 1625 was purchasing land worth thousands of pounds (DRO D/Gr 364-80, cited in Newton 2006:35).

Nearly every property deal of the Newcastle merchant élite involved the acquiring of lands of significant mercantile value (e.g. coal staithes/mines or lands with riverside access), with transactions only rarely including the transferral of mansion houses (Newton 2006:36, citing the example of James Clavering’s 1629 purchase which included coal mines, staithes, and four mansion houses; DRO D/CG/7/16), suggesting that the social dynamic of new property was far less frequently the motivation behind a purchase. That said, the acquisition of mansion houses would naturally be a less frequent occurrence given the massive amounts of lands purchased (and associated industrial resources, which then had to be exploited using considerable personal capital) required to obtain, improve, and/or sustain a mansion house and landscape. On the backs of their successes at Blackburn colliery, in 1607 Thomas Liddell was able to purchase lands in both the Manor of Farnacres in Whickham and the adjacent Ravensworth estate (and the partially ruined Ravensworth Castle) in Lamesley. The same can be said for a number of other families, indeed purchasing landed status and redefining the landscape itself in the early part of the seventeenth century. “Nowhere else in England, Northumberland included, were there so many landed fortunes founded on this kind of industrial basis (James 1974:69, quoted in Levine & Wrightson 1991:23), where “the shrewd manipulation of the property market could result in the meteoric rise of a family’s fortunes” (Newton 2006:35).

Alongside this landed status came an even further intensified competitive climate, where those of the merchant élite possessed the wealth and sociopolitical reputation to compete with far more ancient gentry families of medieval origins, not to mention ongoing contentions between coal owners

themselves. In addition to the competition for land, landed status meant the politically-active coal owner was subject to the dynamic and at times explosive nature of England's political and religious climate, especially considering the rise of the coal baron took place during the seventeenth century when these issues were particularly pronounced (i.e. Civil War and Interregnum). The coal trade of the seventeenth century was not at all divided by religious affiliation. For example, the Whickham Grand Lease was negotiated out of the hands of the Bishopric and into those of the town council by primarily Catholic merchant gentry of Newcastle (Clavering 1995:228). Despite the later advantages of Protestant Whig families in the early eighteenth century (discussed below), Catholic families of the late seventeenth century were not at all behind their Protestant contemporaries in terms of prosperity and reflections of such in the architecture they employed (e.g. the Catholic enclaves of Eslington, Netherwitton, Callaly, and Croxdale, each of which received architectural and/or landscape improvements during this period; these developments are explored in further detail in Chapters IV, V, and VI). That said, it is apparent that most of these families let property mostly to co-religionists, likely as a safeguard against being taken advantage of by others under penal law (Gooch 1995:25; see Newton 2006:119-25 for an in-depth look at Catholic identities in the North East during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).

Being royalists and Protestants, the Liddell family were firm supporters of the Whig political faction from the 1680s (Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt was Member of Parliament for Durham City c.1689-90 and 1695-98, and for Newcastle c.1701-5 and 1706-10; Hayton et al 2002a). When the bonfires of the Jacobite Rebellion broke out in the streets in 1714 (the rising of "the Fifteen"; see Taylor & Taylor 1936, Arnold 1959, Baynes 1970, and Gooch 1995), spearheaded by Jacobites hungry for a second Stuart restoration (Hughes 1954:20-1), most of the Northumberland rebels were gentry and countrymen, not the townspeople who had rioted ("riot was an urban phenomenon, rebellion was overwhelmingly rural in origin"; Oates 2004:126). Rebellion was mounted for political, religious, and dynastic reasons (the various conflicting opinions of historians are outlined in Oates 2004:112), creating a divide between Catholic and Protestant landowners which reached a tipping point when (Protestant) Whigs seized power from (Catholic) Tories in the Parliamentary election of 1715, ending a four-year period of Tory rule (Oates 2004:112; Tories were replaced by Whigs at both local and national levels of government; Speck 1977:175).

Catholics of all ranks were arrested in Newcastle (*Daily Courant* 4359, 13 October 1715, cited in Oates 2006:86), and the estates of leading Catholic families confiscated by the Crown (Gooch 1995:102-3). Though families such as the Collingwoods of Eslington made partial recovery of their possessions following the Fifteen (Collingwood estate titles, Throckmorton MSS, LWB/1; cited in Glickman 2009:60), their fortunes taking more than one generation to fade away (Gooch 1995:160-70), Protestant Whigs such as the Liddells were left to plunder the impounded estates of those Catholic families who had previously been major industrial and political competitors. In fact, besides George Liddell's (brother of 3rd Bt, see Issue of Liddell Family) quartering of 12,000 men in Gateshead and Newcastle to deter any

attack which may occur (Hertfordshire Record Office, Cotesworth-Liddell, 11 October 1715; HRO D/EP F195; cited in Oates 2006:80), Gooch notes that such families (namely the Carrs, Delavals, Ellisons, Liddells of Ravensworth, and Claverings of Axwell) appear to have shown little interest in the Fifteen (Gooch 1995:53). Henry Liddell (1673-1717, son of 3rd Bt) made note of his friend and fellow merchant William Cotesworth's success in "obligating their [Newcastle's] great bells to ring aloud till next morning which sufficiently proclaims our success" (Ellis 1987:223; for more on the reactions of various factions of society, see Oates 2006 and 2008), though this success was in no way the result of any major effort on the part of the Liddell family.

Regardless of whether the Liddell family were involved in any of the skirmishes or rebellions of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they and other Whig coal-owning families were left within an élite society where many of its longest-standing members had been reduced to little more than outlaws (or, in the case of the Collingwoods, were executed; the political values of Whig and Tory supporters in relation to architecture and landscape, particularly as they relate to the appropriation of classical and Gothic architecture, are addressed further in Chapter VI). Whigs of Newcastle drew support from emerging industrial interests and wealthy merchants while Tories supported the Catholic cause and the existing gentry and campaigned against the new local hegemony of the Whigs. Within the context of coal, Jacobitism correlated with competition rather than ideology. Though the acquisition of impounded estates would assist families such as the Liddells in expanding their landholdings and mining interests, it was the sudden disappearance of competitors, both in the coal trade and within the élite class of society of the North East, which most acutely affected the climate of the merchant élite and provided a final boost in momentum for the rising coal baron.

Grand Alliance and Merchant Élité: Culminating Circumstances in the Long Eighteenth Century

Maximum site rent at any given time c.1715-1864 was 31% of the average pithead price of coal, meaning it was much more difficult to become a millionaire on the back of coal than, for example, it is to become a billionaire from oil business in the twenty-first century (where the price of mineral rental is close to the whole of the wellhead price; Clark & Jacks 2007:48). Flinn and Stoker argue that the nature of the coal trade encouraged the formation of monopolies in both Newcastle and London (Flinn & Stoker 1984:256): monopolies directly resulting from seventeenth-century transformations of market climate. In this section, the developmental circumstances outlined in previous sections is placed within the context of the culture of cartelism that resulted and gave rise to an agreement between the principal coal owners of Tyneside: namely the Bowes, Wortley, and Liddell families. In considering such developments, it is possible to situate historically and rationalise the climate in which the Baronets Ravensworth were able and compelled to produce grand architectural reflections of tangible and intended dominance in the region.

While the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw unprecedented and not since equalled increases in the rates of extraction and levels of coal exported from the North East, these increases generally levelled off during the period of the long eighteenth century. In the year 1600, coal shipments from ports in the North East had likely reached 250,000 tons per annum and by 1700 had grown to roughly 650,000 tons, in large part due to London's growing appetite for coal as a fuel alternative (McCord 1979:14). By 1826, London was importing roughly two million tons of coal by sea (only 125,000 tons of which originated in areas other than the North East; McCord 1979). Despite this steady growth in exports, the percentage of Britain's coal coming from Northumberland and Durham fell by nearly twelve percent from 41.1 to 29.2 between the years 1681 and 1790, and down to 21.7 percent by 1826-8 (Pollard 1980:216) despite ever deeper pits being sunk (300 feet maximum in 1700, 600 maximum in the 1750s, and over 900 feet by the 1820s; Clark & Jacks 2007:44). The price of coal reflected this drop in the rate of industry expansion, falling forty percent from 1700 to the 1860s (Clark & Jacks 2007:41), corresponding with the increased rate of extraction (a roughly 1,800-percent increase) and more widespread consumption. That said, the price of coal did not fall as a direct result of innovation but rather because of a combination of factors, namely an increasing population (Levine & Wrightson 1991:6-7), higher wages, and reductions in taxes (Clark & Jacks 2007:40-3, contrasting Mokyr 1990:10). Though the introduction of the Newcomen Steam engine from 1712 would revolutionise the way in which coal was extracted (using coal from its source to power the drainage of water; Clavering 1995:229), spreading rapidly and "transform[ing] an entire industry within a few decades" (Pomeranz 2000:66-8), use of this technology was not widespread enough to be considered the norm until the middle part of the century (the Ravensworth Engine which was completed in 1670 remained the most efficient engineering solution well into the late 1740s and was not replaced until 1750; Clavering 1995:229).

Despite the apparent levelling off of rates of extraction and trade, profits for a relative few coal-owning families continued to climb as the scope of market share was narrowed to the point where a handful of players dictated most of the behaviour of the coal industry in the North East. This narrowing effect is explained by a combination of two interrelated factors: the first being the centralising of coal interests into family businesses, illustrated well in the relationship of Sir Henry Liddell 4th Bt and George Liddell (his uncle) who were both heavily involved in the coal trade, working alongside each other (see examples of their being named alongside one another in costing records; Oldroyd 1996:8) and keeping matters of business within the family. The second factor stems from this consolidation of business oversight. In 1719, an agreement was signed in which the Cotesworth and Wortley families agreed to share use of wayleaves, staithes, and staithroom (wharfs and wharftroom) for 19 years from 1720 (NRO Armstrong MMS, 725 F1). This was followed in 1722 with an agreement between Wortley and Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt in which the two parties agreed to share the Liddells' Blackburn Fell colliery (situated in the Derwent Valley; Nef 1966:28) and its associated wayleave through Whickham over Blackburn Fell for 21 years, £100 per annum certain (SA Wh M/D/652). In the years following, further

agreements were made between the major coal-owning families of the region (1724: Bowes and Clavering purchased rights to $\frac{3}{4}$ of Collierly colliery together for 18 years at £420 per annum certain, 14s tentale; 1725: Bowes and Clavering acquired lands at Ewhurst from the widowed Mrs. Emerson for 18 years at £350 per annum certain, 17s tentale; 1725: Liddell and Wortley acquired lands at Gateshead Park, Heaton, and Heaton colliery from the Parrots, a steam engineering family from Staffordshire; NRO Armstrong MSS, 725 F3 and F2), the most important of which came in 1723. In this episode, the Wortley family purchased a number of wayleaves in the manors of Whickham and Gateshead from copyholders and later this same year entered into an agreement with the Liddells calling for all collieries to be held in moieties between the two families, the new Tanfield Way to be laid at joint charge, and all collieries to be won and wrought jointly at joint charge but led to staiths and vended distinctly (Cromar 1978:198).

These agreements between prominent coal-owning families consolidating power over the coal market with each new partnership forged represent the final stages in a transitional period c.1700-1725 from disparate and discrete market share to industrial oligopoly, the ultimate result being the formation of a formal alliance between the leading families. Despite an Anti-Monopoly Act of 1711 (Cromar 1978:200), on the 27th of June 1726 a group of three landed coal barons (Sir Henry Liddell of Ravensworth Castle, 4th Bt, recent successor to the Baronetage, Sidney Wortley of Wortley Hall, Yorkshire, and George Bowes of Gibside Hall, Derwent Valley) and one subsidiary party (William Cotesworth, whose interests were in salt mining, the extraction of which made use of coal not suitable for domestic consumption; Oldroyd 1996:5) signed an agreement to form the Grand Alliance of coal owners with the goal of concentrating capital for joint-stock mining and controlling the market price of coal. This effectively created a partnership which controlled the majority stake in coal extraction in the North East, and indeed in England as a whole at this stage. A portion of the document (Armstrong MSS, NRO 725 F2, T&WA DX973/4/2, and T&WA DF.HUG/6/6, a draft of the agreement) is reproduced below for further details and due to the gravity of its influence on the histories of these families:

The said parties hereto have for their respective interests, benefits and advantages, mutually agreed to join some of their collieries and to enter into a friendship and partnership for the purchasing and taking of other collieries and for the working and winning of collieries thereout and to exchange benefits and kindnesses with each other upon a lasting foundation in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

That they the said partners in thirds shall during the said term of ninety nine years mutually grant way leaves with the liberty of making waggonways each to the other upon and through all Lands ... And it is further hereby covenanted and agreed in the manner aforesaid that none of the said partners shall during the term of ninety nine years grant way leave or permit or suffer any person whomsoever to lead any coals in through over and along any of their respective waggonways without the mutual consent of the others.

And the said partners in thirds do hereby consent to pay their proportionable charges of the dead Rents held by George Bowes for Collierly and Ewhurst collieries.

And that all collieries to be held in thirds as aforesaid shall from 11 November next be won and wrought jointly and at joint charge but led to separate staiths and vended distinctly.

And in case Cotesworth shall be stopped or defeated in leading along Bucksnook present waggonway he will be compensated by the Allies.

And it is agreed by all the said partners in thirds that all such new and further way leaves and passages as shall hereafter be taken by them ... and all such waggonways and other ways shall be laid ... for the joint use and benefit of all the Partners in thirds and all others charges and expenses ... shall be jointly borne and paid by them in proportion to their shares in the Collieries to be held in thirds as aforesaid.

With the exception of the coal owners' personal estate collieries (e.g. Gibside) all other coal interests were to be divided into three larger sections, and all infrastructural costs to be likewise split between the partners (i.e. construction of wayleaves, staiths, watermills, and later the installation of steam engines). More importantly, leases for the use of collieries managed by the Allies and new acquisitions of pits would be managed jointly by the allied parties: effectively denying any other competing single coal owner any real level of control of the market. By 1750, the Grand Allies controlled sixteen of the thirty-one working collieries north and south of the Tyne (Ashton & Sykes 1964:21, Flinn & Stoker 1984:40, 161, 256-8, Oldroyd 1996:3). The Liddells and Wortleys accounted for 18-27 percent and 16-18 percent respectively of the Tyneside coal trade during the years 1727, 1732, and 1733, with George Bowes accounting for 13-15 percent, the greatest part of his income (Oldroyd 1996:4).

This Grand Alliance of coal owners was an eighteenth-century continuation of the seventeenth-century practices of the Company of Hostmen, following on the heels of petitions in Parliament made by Wortley against legislation to dissolve and prevent further combinations in the coal trade (the petition claimed that the bill would "put the proprietors of the collieries under insuperable difficulties in working of their collieries [...] and tend very much to the discouragement of the coal trade"; Hayton et al 2002b) and the first formal Regulation of the Vend c.1708 which was not successful ("Articles of Agreement Tripartite" drawn up in 1708 by William Cotesworth and ten proprietors: Sir Henry Liddell, Sir John Clavering, James Clavering, John Wilkinson, Sir Ralph Carr, George Pitt, Matthew White, Philip Hodgson, Robert Fenwick, and James Montague; Wilcock 1979:70-71). Meetings were commonly held at Ravensworth Castle (Grand Allies' minute book 1727-40, collection of the North of England Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers, NRO; cited in Oldroyd 1996:2) and generally related to the leasing and/or acquiring of wayleaves and collieries, particularly the latter as the Grand Allies controlled forty-two miles of waggonways (at least in 1739; Flinn & Stoker 1984:157): most of which were laid and maintained according to a standardised method (observed by Gabriel Jars c.1764, translated by Lee 1951:148-9; George Liddell, fourth son of Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt, suggested in 1725 that all waggonways of the soon-to-be Grand Allies' collieries have standardised gauges; Clavering 1996, unpublished notes quoted in Ayris et al 1998:18).

The first major initiative of the Grand Allies was the opening of Ravensworth Ann colliery, sunk in 1726 and later to be renamed as Team Colliery (Durham Mining Museum 2015a). This colliery remained an active producer of coal until 1973 and its location is preserved in the landscape by the Angel of the North which is situated on the site (location noted on Plate 1; Gateshead Council 2016). In the year following the formation of the Grand Alliance, the Allies came to an agreement with Sir Francis Clavering over the leasing of three of his collieries at Beckley, Andrew's House, and Byermoor. The agreement was for eleven years at £2,250 per annum certain (30s tentale) (by far the largest rental charge to date) for the former two collieries and £150 per annum certain (10s tentale) for Byermoor. Additional fees were dictated for wayleave access (£300 per annum) and for "waggon and several engines" (£767 7s) (Armstrong MMS, NRO 725 F2). Such a price may not have been offered (much less accepted) under different circumstances before the formation of the Alliance, and in retrospect, this eleven-year agreement (relatively short compared to the majority of leases) was as strategic as it was lucrative, whether by chance or design. Beckley colliery had been completely exhausted by the time it was turned back over to Clavering, leaving him with a near worthless plot of land.

The Grand Allies minute book (as analysed by Oldroyd 1996) records the reports of colliery viewers, or professional mining experts, from the earliest meetings (Oldroyd 1996:11-12), where these men were hired as consultants to assist coal owners in mining operations (most often spreading knowledge of new technological developments; more often than not, these developments originated on Tyneside; Oldroyd 1996:5-6). Beyond offering such technological consultation, these mining experts provided forecasting (including costing) for existing pits (see Oldroyd 1996:16-18). This practice was likely present from the early seventeenth century (Hatcher 1993:265), and though no evidence for pre-Alliance surveying of the land or pit at Beckley colliery survives, the situation is perhaps a testament to the ruthlessness of the Allies, not to mention the competitive climate at the time. It is interesting that such an agreement followed so closely on the heels of the Alliance's formation, where such a partnership would only have been formed based on projected gains and after careful consideration of such. Sir Francis Clavering was a Catholic and may have been weakened by financial setbacks following the estates registration measure of 1715 (register reproduced by Estcourt 1885), though his rivalry with members of the Alliance is well documented (Purdue 2013).

The Allies must have had good knowledge of the shortcomings of Beckley colliery to justify placing such a large and unprecedented investment in a colliery. This was too short a lease for Clavering to have worried about exhaustion, and using their combined muscle, the Allies were able to force an entire colliery out of the market. Only such a partnership could have put up the initial capital for such a lease, and given the resulting exhaustion of the pits, this example highlights the ruthlessness of the unregulated coal baron. In order to compete effectively, the coal owner would need to possess a suitable and constant understanding of operations at competing collieries, implying that the more successful coal owner would be the one who possessed the resources to monitor such activity. These were market

dictators, rather than simply participants, where non-participant regulation was non-existent. This Grand Alliance was a very early example of centralising capital and the power that can result (Cromar 1978:200). Oversight came instead from within the market itself: a system which may be described as “restrictive capitalism.”

“Output expansion was driven by factors external to the industry” (Clark & Jacks 2007:62) with the primary factors being increased demand, greater populations, higher incomes, demands following improvements to iron-smelting, reduced taxation for the use of coal in cities, and declining transport costs. There was no major technological innovation which propelled coal mining productivity; in fact, productivity rose just twelve percent over the 150-year period c.1700-1862 (Clark & Jacks 2007:69), meaning growths of profits among coal owners can instead be associated with the volume of rents they possessed, each of these with their own tentacle rents. With the majority of leases being rented from a handful of landowners, profits could grow exponentially so long as the market was kept contained to a relatively small number of “coal barons” controlling the lion’s share of rents. When the Grand Allies acquired Whickham Manor in 1738 at a cost of £21,000 (NRO 3410, WAT 4/20; cited in Oldroyd 1996:13), this partnership asserted such a dominance over all others vying for a share in the coal trade that these competitors were rendered essentially powerless. Market value and movement of resources were determined from within the industry by those who stood to gain the most.

Conclusions

Following Petts and Gerrard’s 2006 archaeological research agenda for the North East, “the development of technology both within the coal industry and in its associated infrastructure (most notably waggonways and railroads) was fundamental to the industrial and social development of the North-East” (Petts & Gerrard 2006:92). Newcastle has been called the Florence of the Industrial Revolution (Smailes 1935:201), characterised as “the most mysterious as well as the most successful of all the ‘new towns’ of post-conquest England” (Dobson 1977). Besides the clear advantage of being home to England’s richest reserves of coal, the Tyne flowing to a 500-foot plateau subdivided by rivers and tributaries at a period when wood had almost completely been replaced by coal as a source of energy for the country’s homes and factories (Fraser 1969:63-4, Hausman 1977:461), the coal industry of Tyneside was more successful than that of any other region in England due to the organisation of market dictators it created. Coal previously controlled by the Bishop of Durham, seized by the Crown following Dissolutions, and rented to Newcastle merchants was eventually bought up almost entirely by a small group of players. To compare, in the early seventeenth century Wearside collieries such as Lumley and Lambton were much smaller in size and output than their contemporaries on Tyneside (Nef 1932: 1, 30, Beastall 1975:13-15, Hatcher 1993:82) and while coal mining interests of the Lumley family, for example, improved by the eighteenth century (discussed further in Chapter IV), Tyneside remained the epicentre for industrial activity in the region.

With regards to the success of the Liddells whose estates on Tyneside and beyond the immediate region form the basic source of archaeological data for this thesis, the mercantile and indeed political advantages of this particular family have their roots in the opportune exploitation of trends in the industrial history of the region, whether by design or by fortune. From the moment the Liddells built their Ravensworth Engine (c.1670), the family dominated the coal industry on Tyneside. Together with their control over the majority of wayleaves servicing the region's vast network of pits, especially following the incorporation of the Grand Allies, this family personified the combination of and coordination between the coal mill, coal wealth, and political power in Newcastle and at the national level which hastened the industry's falling into the hands of great owners (Clavering 1995:228). As has been demonstrated, these were market dictators rather than mere participants where non-participant regulation did not exist and oversight flowed directly from within the market itself, restricting management and profitability to the relative few.

The chapters to follow will draw upon this contextualisation of the industrial development of the region and its key players, narrowing the focus of inquiry to that of the specific effects these had on the landscape and architectural histories of the coal owners who directed and benefited from the emergence of an industrial economy. The coal baron's approach to housing and landscape design (and redesign) was directly influenced by the industry which financed such initiatives. Redirections and redefinitions of space, command, and presence correlated with an early modern culture of dominance and accumulation driven by the business economy of the region. Using the appointed archaeological and historical methodology outlined in Chapter II, such practices may be qualified in the material and documentary records of the region and applied to wider understandings of elite housing culture, particularly as they compare to industrial practices in the colonial Chesapeake region (Chapter VII), during the period in which entrée into elite society was open for the taking.

CHAPTER IV

The Aggregate Estate Landscape of Ravensworth Castle

*"It to perfection these plantations rise,
If they agreeably my heirs surprise,
This faithful pillar will their age declare,
As long as time these characters shall spare."*

Inscription on obelisk by Vanbrugh, Castle Howard, c.1714

Introduction: Redefinitions of space

The Ravensworth Estate lies approximately three miles southwest of Newcastle upon Tyne on a plot of land sloping from a high point at the northwest corner above High Park Wood (100m) to the site's southeast corner (30m). This topography affords the viewer largely unobstructed views of the lower Tyne Valley with much of south Gateshead and Washington visible on a clear day. The estate is physically separated from Newcastle yet stands near enough to be included within the political and social spheres of the town; it is in no manner secluded as often were other landed estates (e.g. Seaton Delaval and Streatlam). From its origins as a medieval deer park through to the construction of John Nash's neo-Gothic castle, Ravensworth has played an active role in the affairs of the town of Newcastle, its elevated landscape providing the traveller his or her first impression of one of medieval and early modern England's most active and prosperous centres of trade.

In this chapter, the landscape of the Ravensworth Estate and its immediate and further surroundings will be explored so as to fully contextualise the estate as it would have been experienced and exploited during the long eighteenth century. The history of this estate is one of gradual development from medieval deer park to industrial landscape estate, where each successive modification of the landscape is built in conversation with the specific objectives of all preceding periods. In particular, Ravensworth's is

a landscape which consciously retained its medieval character over its nearly eight-hundred-year period of recorded occupation. Building upon this medieval baseline, the industrial aims of the estate were promoted as integral to the functionality of the parkland as a whole and, combined with the medieval elements, were displayed and highlighted within the confines of an eighteenth century landscape narrative. That is, the Ravensworth Castle of the year 1785 (when the 5th Bt commissioned a comprehensive estate map) represented the amalgamation of all previous functional and aesthetic initiatives, whether or not these were deliberate or pragmatic choices.

As at other estates, the arrangement of routes into and through the parkland highlighted the most prominent features of the landscape and dictated the ways in which the landscape should be experienced. As such, the organisation of this chapter will trace the historical and archaeological development of the landscape in order to explain the unique spatial arrangement which was eventually recorded in 1785 at the point directly preceding the architectural overhaul c.1808 (effectively the end of Ravensworth's long eighteenth century and the point from which more is known of the property). These results are then interpreted and contextualised using a comparative model where specific landscape architectural devices are considered in comparison with relevant local contemporaries. As field survey was not possible during the researching of this thesis, interpretations of the estate parkland and its relationship with the greater Tyne Valley region gleaned from historical research and comparisons with relevant contemporary estates represent the best possible conclusions upon which further research may be undertaken. That said, Ravensworth Castle is an estate landscape that has changed little since the later part of the eighteenth century (the archaeological evidence of this is discussed at length below), meaning that comparison with other known estates may prove to enrich conceptions of the landscape even further than would be garnered from field survey alone. By understanding the context and motivations behind each pivotal moment in Ravensworth's evolution and relating these local contemporaries, what emerges is a conception of the estate as an aggregate landholding: its various features retained and redefined in observance of a progressive approach to landscape design. As this chapter will argue, the retention of medieval elements of the parkland was most likely a conscious decision on the part of the Baronets Ravensworth and the designers who assisted in realising such visions for the estate.

From Medieval Fortified Parkland to Late Eighteenth Century Estate

In 1785, Sir Henry George Liddell (1749-91) had recently succeeded to become 5th Baronet Ravensworth following the death of his uncle the 1st Baron Sir Henry Liddell. Apparently wasting no time in consolidating his political and financial resources, 1785 brought two important orders of business for the newly-raised baronet. In the same year as he was appointed to the post of High Sheriff of Northumberland, the principal law enforcing position for the county, the 5th Bt commissioned a comprehensive map of the Ravensworth Estate. For this initiative he hired the engraver and

cartographer John Fryer. Fryer was at the time quite an active local cartographer with a portfolio which included extensive and exhaustive maps of much of the Tyne Valley and surrounding settlements (North Tyneside Council 2004:18). The Ravensworth commission was no exception to his obvious faculty for the profession, and the resulting map stands as doubtless the most comprehensive record of the estate's assets and landscape design prior to the first edition of the Ordnance Survey published 1857.

While any good map is of value to this thesis, Fryer's stands as perhaps the best possible illustration of the landscape at the most pivotal period in the estate's evolution. It represents the amalgamation of every major development in landscape design and function that occurred up until the close of the long eighteenth century, accounting for everything from access points to the peculiar spatial arrangements of the structures themselves. Most importantly, however, Fryer conducted this survey at a period straddling the estate's two most distinct architectural phases. The exponential growth of Ravensworth during the long eighteenth century is catalogued just a few years before Sir Thomas Henry Liddell (created 1st Baron Ravensworth c.1821) ordered a complete redesign of the house proper, beginning in 1808. With regards to the landscape, however, most of the estate remained unaltered through the nineteenth century save for extensions of its boundaries and the inclusion of additional routes through the interior (according to later Ordnance Survey maps, particularly the first series c.1857; see Plates 1-4). As such, later OS maps provide additional support for interpretation of the earlier map which will remain the primary focus of this discussion.

Fryer's map may stand as a relative endpoint for the early modern architectural and landscape evolution of Ravensworth. Working from this document, it is possible to contextualise the extended history of the site from its medieval origins through to the nineteenth century, where most of the site's unique character c.1785 can be reasonably explained by highlighting the historical factors playing upon it. Ravensworth is best appreciated as a landscape which chronicles nearly eight hundred years of continuous occupation and adaptation. Once this concept of an evolving site is applied, its eighteenth century form and functions can be better understood and the site can be awarded the holistic interpretation it requires and deserves.

Origins as a medieval landscape

The history of medieval occupation of the site begins with a toponymy of the name itself. According to Hutchinson (visiting in 1785),

“The antiquity of this castle leads to conjectures as to the etymology of the name; in many old records it is called *Ravenshelm* and *Ravenfwaith*, in the old spelling *Raffenfweath*. The Danish standard was called *Raffen*, and *weath* is a north country word, now used in Scotland for sorrow. The application we would make is, that *Ravensworth* Castle is of Danish foundation, and had its name from them as *Raffens-Helm*, or the stronghold of the Danish standard; and that some defeat of that people had occasioned the name of *Raffens weath*, or Danish woe” (Hutchinson 1823:528).

Modern place name research into County Durham confirms Hutchinson's assertions, adding that the "-worth" which ordinarily indicates an Anglo-Saxon origin is a more modern suffix and the early recorded forms spelled as "Ravenswat" or "Ravenswaith" suggest a "wath" (or "ford" in Old Norse, perhaps signifying the stream which passes through Ravensworth Village) of Hraefn (or "raven") (see Mawer 1919:240-1 and Simpson 2015). From the eleventh century the place name varies from Ravenswet, Rasueswaht, and Ravenswade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to Ravenswath and later Ravenshelme in the sixteenth century, finally arriving at Ravensworth in the seventeenth century.

Without comprehensive geophysical survey, the precise character of any pre-Conquest settlement at Ravensworth will remain unknown (the earliest occupation or use of the landscape may be the remains of a Roman fort or signal station on the site; T&W HER 11284), though its Anglo-Saxon place name (and retention of the name) lends some reason to the site's recognition and importance following the Conquest. Surtees first mentions Ravensworth when explaining that the Norman prelate Eardulf was put to death by a mob and later "rose from the dead to, predict the death of Bishop Walcher, and the punishment of his murderers" at the Ravensworth site (Surtees 1820:23). A century later, estate deeds record the granting of the site to the Fitz-Marmaduke family by Bishop Ranulf Flambard (1060-1128) (Mackenzie & Ross 1834:149). Following this ownership, the site passed to the Lumley family in the thirteenth century, during which time the satellite tower and later quadrangular castle were constructed (discussed in greater detail in Chapter V), and then to the Gascoigne family in the late fifteenth century as the result of a single female heir to the Lumley family's interests (Mackenzie 1896:354). It remained in the Gascoigne family until being sold to Thomas Liddell in 1607 who had married into the Gascoigne family in the late sixteenth century and was granted entry without license by Bishop James (Welford 1887:13, 170, 181; cited in Nef 1966:11). The Gascoigne family had experienced financial difficulties in the early part of the seventeenth century likely the result of overstrained credit associated with failed mining ventures (James 1974:68-9). From this point onwards, the Liddell family controlled the Ravensworth Estate until abandoning it for their estate at Eslington Park in the early twentieth century (see especially Mandler 1997:242-253).

Using these transfers of occupation as benchmarks, it is possible to reconstruct the evolution of the site's landscape. The earlier (north) of the two surviving towers has been given an early fourteenth century date of construction (Middleton 2014:38), indicating a point of construction during the Lumley tenure at Ravensworth. While the architectural details of the north tower are discussed in Chapter V, implications for the landscape can be interpreted in the present context.

Coinciding with the building of the south tower, a notably less defensive structure, Sir Henry Fitzhugh was granted license to empark at Ravensworth in 1359 (Green 2015:5). Three years earlier, coal workings are mentioned when John Lumley granted "the site, demesne, park, meadows and pasture of the manor of Raueneshelme" to Robert Umfravill (T&W HER 646). This was the first significant

transition in land use for the Ravensworth landscape. By the later fourteenth century, the site consisted of the castle itself (at this point in quadrangular form), an accompanying deer park, and possibly early coal workings (though less industrial in character than those of the seventeenth and eighteenth century landscapes). A 2015 North of England Civic Trust report cites an earlier archaeological assessment which found evidence for embankments and unusually deep ditches to the north and northwest of the Victorian walls at the northern boundary of the park; this was confirmed during surveying in connection with the report (site walkover revealed an unusually deep ditch in the northwest corner of the parkland; Green 2015:5).

Deer parks were usually constructed in an oval shape with a ditch and fence boundary (see Cantor & Hatherly 1979: 72-74 and Birrell 1992) and Gibson's 1788 map of the Tyne and Wear coalfield clearly depicts Ravensworth Castle in an oval shape (Figure 5). Given this representation even near to the end of the period in question, here lies a clear medieval point of origin for the later development of the estate which is corroborated by the aforementioned archaeological evidence for a deep ditch barrier. Ravensworth was and remains a landscape informed largely by its fourteenth century character and function. Its medieval boundaries have endured for the most part unchanged, with successive land use initiatives cooperating with a medieval demarcation.

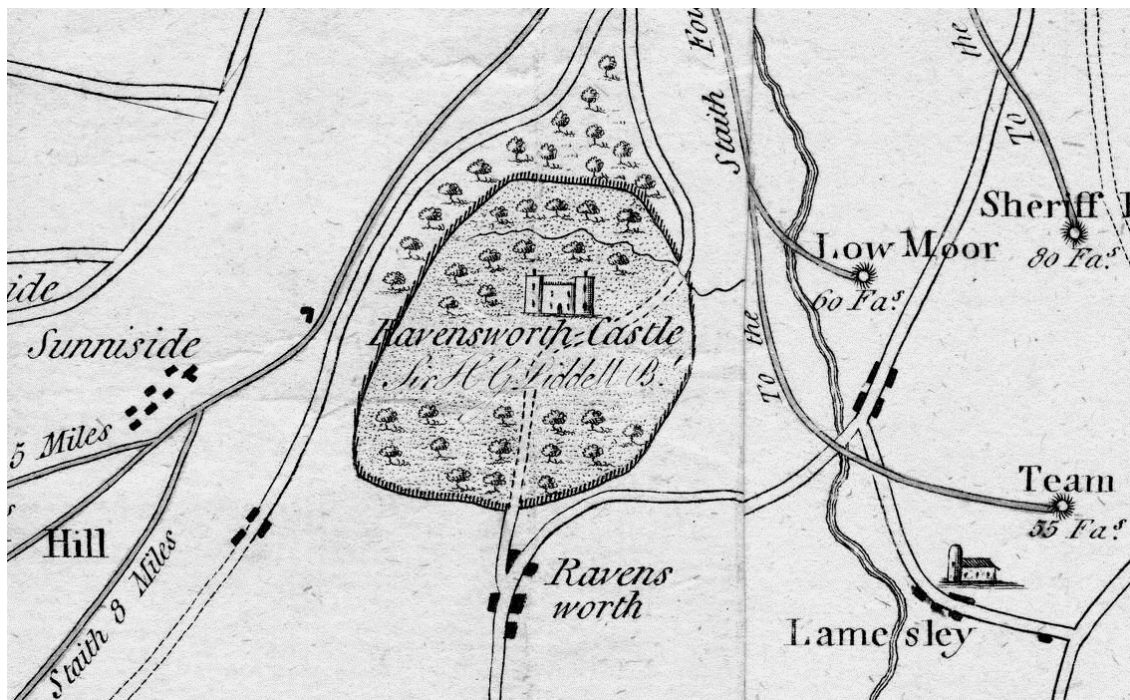


Figure 5: Detail of *Plan of the Collieries on the Rivers Tyne and Wear*, showing Ravensworth Castle
John Gibson 1788 (DUL NSR Planfile C 22/5)

Removing all structures, walkways, and eighteenth century reforestation from Fryer's 1785 map, save for the house proper, what is left is a decidedly regular medieval parkland of the fourteenth century (as cited above) with an accompanying castle at its centre. With the origins of its coal production facilities added to this picture, the image of a fourteenth and fifteenth century Ravensworth persevered well into the eighteenth century, essentially unchanged save for internal aesthetic redesign and furthering of its industrial capabilities. In a symbolic sense, it is worthwhile to consider this image when comparing Fryer's map to that of Gibson. Though Gibson's representation of the estate is understandably simplified, as Ravensworth is by no means the centre of attention in a map of the entire region, the depiction of its closest neighbour at Gibside, just a few miles to the west, is drawn in a more accurate fashion.

As this chapter and thesis seek to illustrate, Ravensworth should be understood as a symbolically medieval estate where an early modern compulsion to create a lineage on the site (i.e. the arrival of the Liddell family in the early seventeenth century, who in 1615 recorded their arms and descents at the herald's Visitation; James 1974:70) informed the treatment of this landscape for the entirety of Liddells' tenure there. Ravensworth's landscape remained relatively unaltered for the majority of its history, save for the introduction of industrial features (e.g. The Trench and Old Ravensworth Way which are discussed below). Its various eighteenth-century features (e.g. the Avenue, the paths of entry, the possible banqueting house, and various other outbuildings, each discussed below) did not supersede the existing and longstanding character of Ravensworth as a deer park, bounded by a roughly circular enclosure almost certainly associated with the fourteenth century.

Early Modern Functionality of the Medieval Estate

Building upon analyses of the medieval character of the estate, a truly comprehensive understanding of Ravensworth's landscape development will address its late sixteenth and seventeenth century attributes as a bridge to later intentions, and beyond the estate itself, it is important to contextualise the estate within the greater landscape of early modern Newcastle upon Tyne. As has been discussed in Chapter II, the industrial climate of the city and its surroundings underwent major changes during this period: changes which would come to define uses for and experiences of the area's landscape for centuries to follow. Ravensworth's history as a landscape is intimately tied to the seventeenth century explosion of Newcastle's coal trade and, perhaps more importantly, the growth of a local merchant élite. It is at this precise moment of economic, political, and industrial overhaul that the Liddell family enters Ravensworth's nearly eight hundred year narrative; as such, the early modern period of the estate's history begins here.

The Liddell family's history at Ravensworth effectively begins in 1607 with the transferral of the estate from William Gascoigne to Thomas Liddell (d. 1619) (Welford 1887:13, 170, 181; cited in Nef 1966:11). Thomas's father, also called Thomas (d.1577) was a merchant adventurer and wealthy landowner in the

area of the Tyne Valley, and had also been Sheriff of Newcastle between 1563 and 1564 and Mayor of the town 1572-3 (Mackenzie 1827:615). While the exact nature of Thomas Liddell's (d.1619) improvements upon the landscape remains unknown, maps of the surrounding area shed some degree of light on the greater landscape. Regardless of the degree of precision, seventeenth century maps show the estate as it was understood at the time.

The earliest published county map from this period showing Ravensworth is John Speed's map of County Durham c.1611 (Figure 6). John Rudd's map of County Durham c.1569 does not depict Ravensworth (BL Royal MS. 18. D.III, f.70). In the Speed map, Ravensworth Castle and Ravensworth village (a small village southwest of Ravensworth park of apparently 24 households as assessed during the 1666 Lady Day Hearth Tax Assessment; Green & Parkinson 2006:cxiii) are shown to the west of the Team Rivulet and are depicted as having buildings of note on the sites. The map serves to highlight the distribution and quantity of neighbouring estates, some of which provide good points of comparison in terms of how they are represented. Lumley Castle to the southeast and Hilton Castle, further to the east, are each shown as castles with circular or oval enclosures. As has been discussed, this denotes a park of some kind. Ravensworth is clearly not represented as such, despite its medieval history as a deer park. The map was published just four years after Thomas Liddell's purchase of the land and appears to skip Ravensworth in its catalogue of active parks in the area. It is unknown whether use of the deer park at Ravensworth declined in the later sixteenth century, though it would appear that the estate itself was not considered high profile at the time, at least in comparison with other sites such as Lumley and Hilton.



Figure 6: Detail of *The Bishoprick and Citie of Durham*, John Speed c.1611
Showing Ravensworth and Lumley Castle (DCO Prints (C) Rut/Durham 1/78b)

Despite the lack of improvements to the house proper (discussed in detail in the chapter to follow), at least in terms of what can be seen from the few remaining exterior views, the Liddells (particularly the 2nd Baronet, d.1697) made significant changes to the landscape of the estate and its immediate surroundings, where the landscape of the medieval deer park was modified to accommodate innovations in industrial practice. As outlined in Chapter III, the Liddells' first foray into coal mining came in 1597 with Thomas Liddell's (d.1616) lease of pits at Allerdeans (see Figure 4). This was followed by Sir

Thomas Liddell's (d.1650, later to become 1st Baronet Ravensworth) attainment of Blackburn colliery in the Chapelry of Lamesley, wayleaves for which had to pass through the Parish of Whickham and carried a fee for driving coal over them. These collieries were significantly further inland than the majority of other pits in the area. To solve this problem, and effectively double the family's profits (Levine & Wrightson 1991:54), Sir Thomas Liddell commissioned the construction of the "Old Way" or "Ravensworth Way" waggonway which ran from Blackburn Fell (near the modern pit village of Marley Hill) to the Team Rivulet staiths along the southern border of the Ravensworth Estate (see Figure 7). This was a revolutionary change in the landscape which ushered in a period of near dominance over extraction and transportation of coal in the area for the Liddell family.

At the same time, the construction of the Ravensworth Engine (three water wheels driving a battery of pumps in interlinked shafts, the deepest of which was 128 metres; T&W HER 1663) near Cow Close (see Plate 4; details of this initiative are discussed in Chapter II) required moving water from the Blackburn across the northern portion of the estate and down to the pithead which lay along the Team. This was accomplished by excavating a two-mile drain known as The Trench (T&W HER 4121, the remains of which survive at present and are notated on Figure 8). This Trench runs along the top of Ravensworth ridge flowing southeastwards down the incline of the site to where it forms the northern boundary of the triangular plot at the north east corner of Fryer's 1785 estate map (Figure 9). Though it is not notated on the 1785 plan of the estate, The Trench was a key feature of Ravensworth's industrial landscape from the late seventeenth century, approximately three kilometres in length following the 225-foot contour of the estate's topography and bringing water to drive the new Ravensworth Engine. Despite its falling out of necessity to the coal business interests of the region (a Newcomen steam engine was installed at Ravensworth Ann colliery c.1750), Fryer's map clearly shows a route through the interior of this northern portion of the estate, and the later Ordnance Survey map denotes footbridges over this feature at various locations. The Trench was a highly invasive and visible reminder of the estate's new industrial functionality and, in the latter part of the long eighteenth century, a remnant of the roots of Ravensworth's industrial heritage.

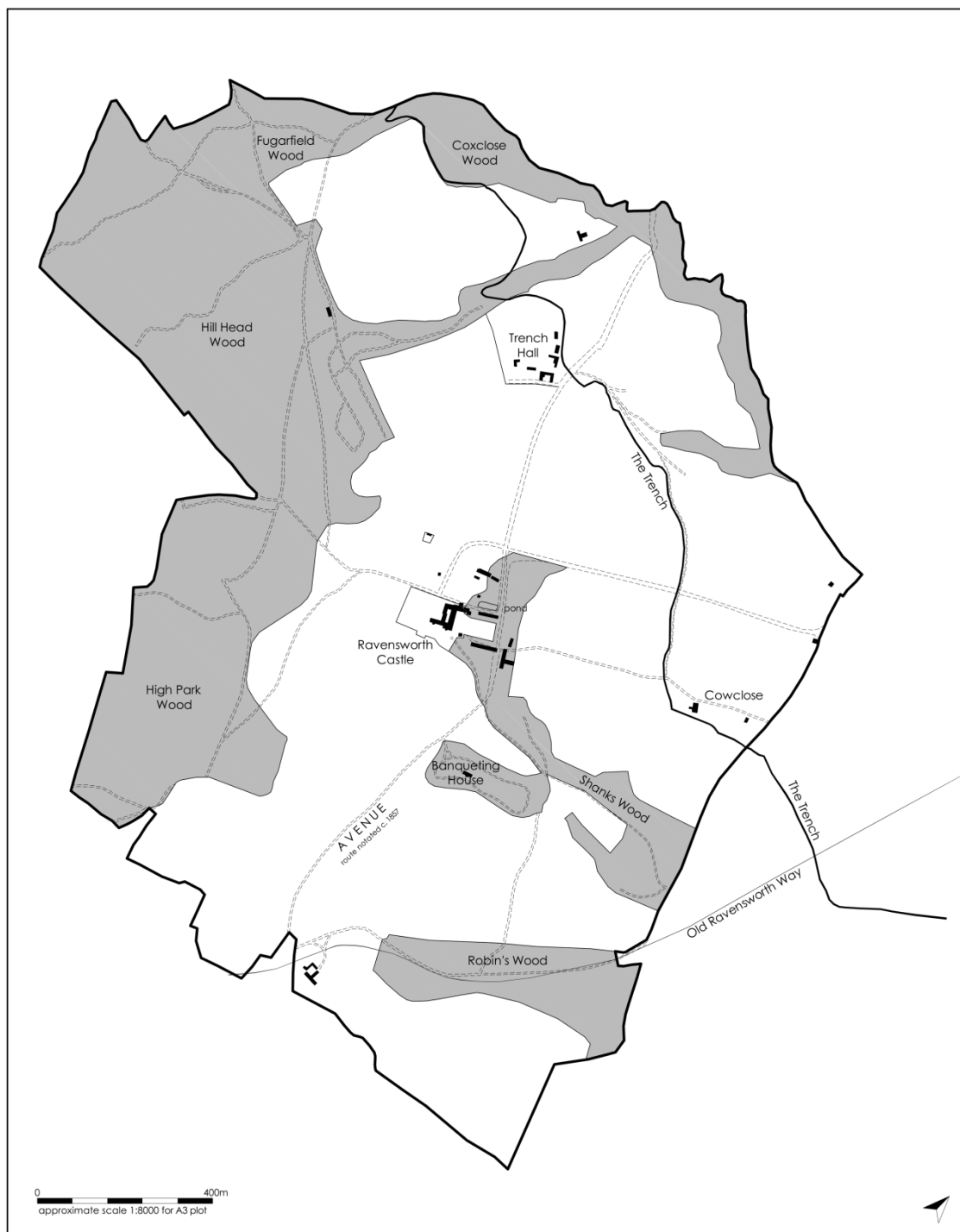


Figure 7: Ravensworth Castle, reconstruction of eighteenth century estate
Produced in partnership with Archaeological Services, University of Durham

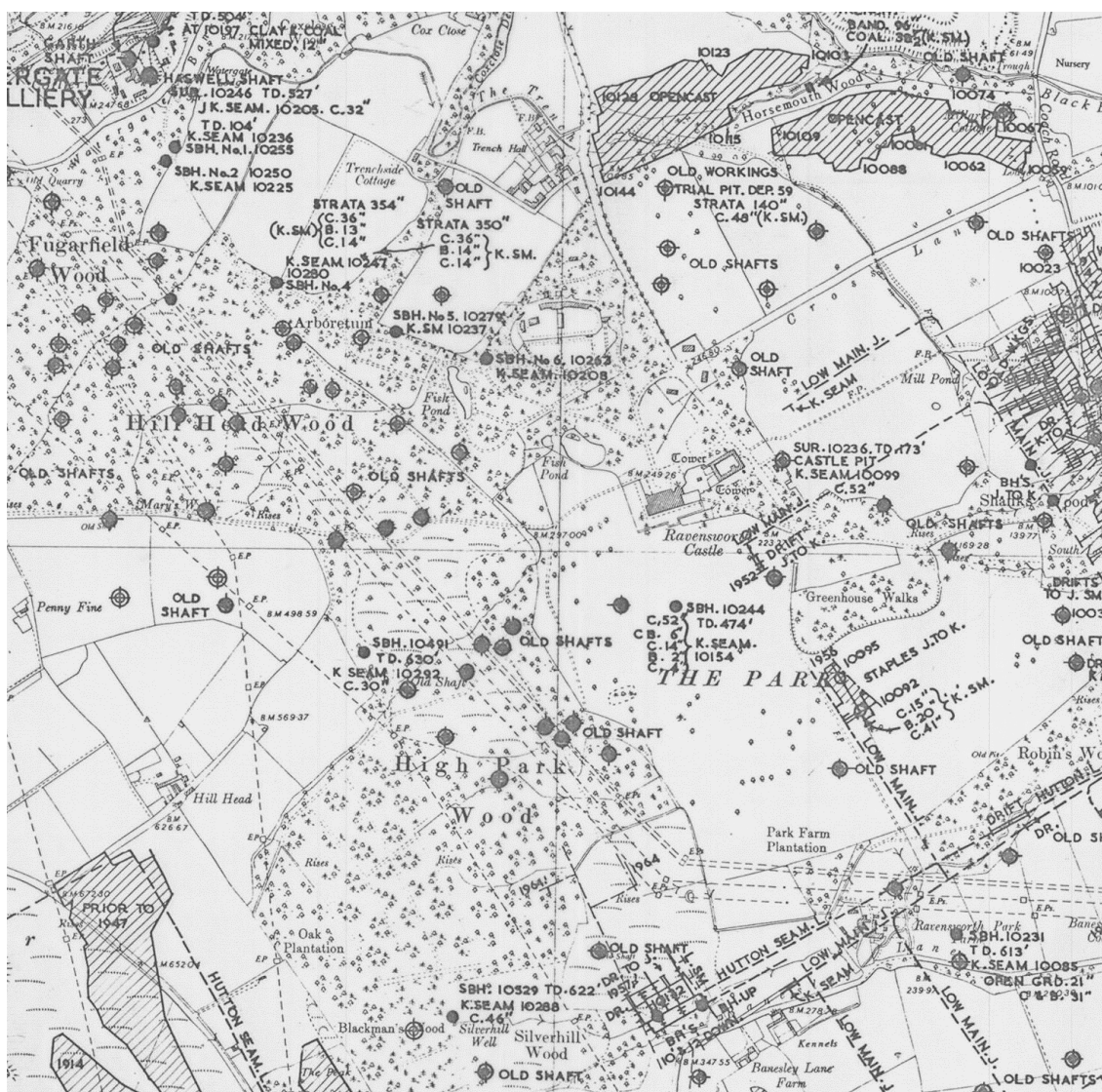


Figure 8: Subsidence map and detail, Bottom Brass Thill seam, 1952
Courtesy The Coal Authority

These alterations to the estate's landscape at the beginning of Ravensworth's long eighteenth century represent the end of the first period of the Liddells' tenure on this site. Where the major part of this thesis focuses on the period following these developments, it was during the seventeenth century that the first series of coal owners in this family developed the landscape of the estate from a declining medieval deer park into an estate which made use of its natural topography (the steep incline from the northwest to the southeast corners), proximity to workable coal seams and rivers (primarily the Team), and location at the southern boundary of the Parish of Whickham (the region's undisputed epicentre of industrial activity) as assets to expanding coal interests. While it is unclear whether the "old shafts" notated on the Ordnance Survey map and later twentieth century map of active and disused pits (Figure 8) were associated with seventeenth or eighteenth century coalworkings, what is clear is the extent of industrial workings on the property. Taken together with quarries present on site and the Old Way running through the bottom portion of the estate, the decidedly industrial character of the estate at the turn of the eighteenth century may be appreciated.

The eighteenth-century aesthetic improvements of the landscape associated with the two Baronets who followed Sir Thomas Liddell 2nd Bt built upon a functionality for the estate (e.g. Old Ravensworth Way, The Trench, and Ravensworth Engine) that was created in the century before. The Ravensworth Estate was in no way unique in its regional context (the Tyne Valley was cluttered with estates, of which Ravensworth was just one), though its primary purpose as an industrial asset is what perhaps differentiates it from its neighbours (see below, where the estate's industrial components and character are discussed in comparison with Lumley Castle). The Liddells' purchase and development of the property was industrial at base level. Beyond their status as Baronets and residency in a predominantly fourteenth-century castle, the furthering of local, regional, and national prestige which characterised landscape improvements of the eighteenth century were built upon a medieval landscape transformed by the seventeenth century industrial initiatives explained in this section.

The Long Eighteenth Century: An Evolving Landscape

Historians and archaeologists of the eighteenth century will be quite familiar with the concept of a "long eighteenth century" where this period in history is extended beyond the bounds of the 1700s to account for significant points of sociopolitical change, beginning with the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and ending with the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 (Black 2011 and Clark 1985, the latter of whom extends this period to 1832). While these may serve as reasonable benchmarks, the concept of an extended century inherently presents an opportunity for interpretation based on the particular situation or movement in question. Where British political history may be reasonably described using the aforementioned benchmarks, the history of the northern industrial landscape is rather complementary with these dates as well (the construction of the Ravensworth Engine in 1670 may be considered the beginning of the estate's long eighteenth century). Beyond larger themes, it is interesting to note that the history of the Liddell family and their estate at Ravensworth seems to parallel a number of major

political, religious, and economic narratives in British history, making the long eighteenth century a concept easily applied. This section will explore the motivations and inspiration behind the redesign, or rather redefinition, of the Ravensworth landscape experience during the long eighteenth century (specifically, the periods of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Baronets, c.1697-1791, prior to the redesign of the house proper from 1808) which culminated in the estate observed by the cartographer John Fryer in 1785. This map will then be analysed in full to provide the foundation for comparative interpretations of relevant contemporary sites in the second half of the chapter.

Aside from his political and civic undertakings as outlined in Chapter III, Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt was effectively the first of his family line to commission major aesthetic changes to the existing landscape of the Ravensworth Estate, the earlier changes (e.g. The Trench) being primarily industrial in nature. When he inherited the property, it would have retained its post-Conquest castle complex with later medieval additions. The surrounding landscape would have still been reminiscent of the earlier medieval deer park, yet the proliferation of coal extraction sites within and surrounding the estate would have equated to a distinctly industrial landscape, at least in the early modern sense. By the 20th century the Ravensworth Estate included the remains of at least fifty “old shafts” (Figure 8). While the majority of these are likely associated with nineteenth-century mining interests, coal from seventeenth and eighteenth century pits would have been moved through the estate to the Team Rivulet along waggonways and then moved north to docks on the Tyne near Dustan Staiths (Figure 5). Around the estate were the larger collieries at Low Moor, Ravensworth Ann (or Team), and Marley Hill, all of which also fed to the Tyne.

Though it is unknown what (or if) landscaping projects were carried out prior to 1717, it is clear that Sir Henry took an active interest in improving the overall aesthetic of the estate. In a series of letters to his son John Bright of Badsworth, Yorkshire, c.1717 (SA WWM Br 173-75), Sir Henry describes his proposed initiatives at Ravensworth and Newton Hall from the voice of a man who sees the potential of the estate in this respect and actively seeks the opinions of qualified advisors (discussed further in Newton Hall comparative section below). These initiatives from c.1717 include the redesign of the gate at Ravensworth, a proposed parterre garden for the Newton Hall house, and a rectangular garden feature with walkways radiating from the entrance to the house proper (as discussed in Chapter VI; as will be explained elsewhere in this chapter, it is unknown whether this particular design was ever realised at either estate). Regardless of whether these improvements were realised, Sir Henry's letters indicate a high level of confidence in design and vision for the future of his estate.

There is evidence to suggest that the Liddells had a connection with gardens directly influenced by Italian examples through their hired craftsmen-architects, specifically Thomas Shirley (a “joiner by trade” hired by the family in 1718-19 to assist in redesigning the house proper). According to Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary*, Shirley was engaged to survey the castles of the Bishop of Durham in 1750 alongside a

contemporary joiner, Kenton Couse (Colvin 1995:886; it should be noted that consultation of Colvin's notes stored in the RIBA Archive at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, did not yield any further evidence for Colvin's claims). In his 2013 thesis, Richard Pears draws this important link between the architectural climate in London and aspirations of families in County Durham and Northumberland. Couse had apprenticed in the office of Henry Flitcroft, an established "architect" of the second wave of Palladianism and close associate of Lord Burlington (Pears 2013:69-70). This apprenticeship with Flitcroft would have awarded Couse close connections with the upper circles of the British architectural community and his appointment to the tasks of surveying and designing major structures would have come on the heels of these experiences and friendships.

As such, the architecture of Lord Burlington (e.g. Chiswick) provides a crucial link between the architectural and landscaping aspirations of coal owners in Yorkshire, County Durham, Northumberland with southern English-Italianate estate design, especially as it relates to the Grand Tour (see especially Sicca 1982). It was this intersection of continental themes and industrial infrastructure that amounted to the landscape of the Tyneside coal baron's estate (e.g. Ravensworth, Gibside, and Lumley).

Sir Henry Liddell (later 1st Baron) assumed the title of 4th Bt in 1723 at the age of fifteen and three years later realised his grandfather's vision for a united group of coal barons, signing the agreement for the Grand Alliance in 1726 at just 18 years of age. While the specific political and economic benefits of this alliance have been discussed in Chapter III, particularly in terms of their effect on the direction of coal production and distribution in Britain, Sir Henry's personal investment in and dedication to furthering the reach of his mercantile empire can only serve to characterise his approach to social advancement. This philosophy equated to an impetus for more elaborate, naturalistic estate landscapes based on microcosmic and processional models; naturally, those with the most successful estates would be perceived to be holding the most political and financial influence. A competitive edge was only a natural requirement in the realm of business, and thus the bettering of one's estate was the natural extension of this mindset.

Fryer's Estate Map of 1785

As previously discussed, Fryer's 1785 map (Figure 9 and Plates 1-4) serves as the backbone for analysis of Ravensworth's eighteenth century landscape. At this juncture, all developments of the eighteenth century were accounted for, and the ambitions of the estate's three key figures of the long eighteenth century (Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt (1644-1723), Sir Henry Liddell 4th Bt/1st Baron (1708-1784), and Sir Henry George Liddell 5th Bt (1749-1791)) reflected in the plan. Field survey of the estate was not possible during the researching of this thesis, and as such, a full description of the map's many features is provided here which is then compared with later Ordnance Survey maps and interpreted in the second part of this chapter based on comparisons with relevant contemporary estates. Historic points of access and directions of movement around the property are of the highest value with regards to building a

comprehensive understanding of the Ravensworth experience. As such, each will be discussed in detail and the associated outbuildings along the various routes contextualised to provide the most comprehensive interpretation of the eighteenth century landscape parkland that is possible using the available source material, the illustration of such providing an eighteenth century context to all earlier landscape features.

There are seven primary access points noted on the Fryer map (Figure 9, Plates 3 and 4, with Plates 1 and 2 showing location of area surveyed c.1785). Beginning with the southern access point at Bainsley Lane (Figure 9, AP1; described first and foremost because of its likely association with an earlier route shown on Gibson's 1788 map, Figure 5), this area was home to a number of outbuildings in an area called "Liddells Garth," some of which are named on the map. Most prominently notated is a Dog Kennel which comprises two outbuildings and an abutting walled or fenced garden/field. To the east of this is a small, oblong area of land notated as "Intake." Bridges over a small stream or rivulet are found on either side of the Intake plot, and these two paths join to meet each other at the origin of the southern road into the property. Here are shown three large outbuildings and one smaller associated structure (notated as "High Stables" on the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1857). After passing by this cluster of buildings, the path leads eastwards through Bainsley Lane Wood alongside the Old Way (shown in this location on the 1857 OS map) before turning northwards through Studdy Close where it joins the surviving road associated with AP2.

The surviving gatehouse (Nash-era, c.1808) on what is now Coach Road lies on the western side of the road at the origin of AP2. At this point, but on the eastern side of Coach Road, there lay in 1785 another outbuilding just north of the stream crossing (this stream has since been diverted or halted). It is unlikely any evidence of the building survives but it can be assumed that the structure served a purpose similar to the surviving Nash-era gatehouse. The building itself is of a simple rectangular form and has a small, square portion of bounded land associated with it. From this point, AP2 leads westwards to join with AP1 at a triangular crossroads near to another outbuilding below Acron Close. This structure is built on a rectangular plan with a bay window on the southern face but is not depicted on the later OS map. This structure may well have been a banqueting house similar to that seen at Gibside, a structure which survives to this day and was constructed by or in part by the same architect (James Paine; designed by Daniel Garrett but completed by Paine) who made improvements to the Ravensworth house proper in the 1750s, as well as the banqueting house at Wardour Castle, probably designed by Paine who was hired for work at the time of the structure's building c.1773 (Historic England 1000507). In any case was removed by the middle part of the nineteenth century. After the routes from AP1 and AP2 meet just north of this structure, this path continues westwards along Acron Close before turning northwards to lead directly to the eastern entrance of the house proper.



Figure 9: Plan of Lands in the Manor of Ravensworth and Lamesley in the Parish of Chester le Street Surveyed for Sir Henry George Liddell 3rd Baronet by John Fryer c.1785 (DRO D/Bo/G26/xxvii)
 Note: Plan is not drawn on a strictly North-South axis; see Plates 2 and 3 for correct orientation



Figure 10: Chiswick, View of the Temple by the Water, Jacques Rigaud (1681-1754), pen and watercolour
 Courtesy Trustees of Chatsworth Settlement (Harris 1994:102)

AP3 passes from Coach Road onto the estate via what is now Cross Lane, passing the medieval Butter Cross (T&W HER 314) at the intersection and allowing access to either the house proper to the south or AP4 to the north. AP3 was arguably the simplest way to reach the house proper and would have led the visitor past an oblong feature just north of the eastern central courtyard of the house proper. This feature is quite clearly not illustrated using a ruler; Fryer's illustration shows uneven yet concentric circles and a few stray marks in the centre of the feature, and as such, it can reasonably be assumed that the feature was indeed a small artificial fishpond. That said, it should be noted that there are no other features of this type included in the Fryer plan, suggesting that the surviving fish ponds northwest of the site of the house proper were constructed at a later date (likely during the construction of the Nash house). As concerns the body of water depicted in 1785, the feature is clearly of a much more regular shape than the later fish ponds. It is roughly rectangular and is situated parallel to the eastern courtyards of the house proper. Considering the traceable connection between the Liddells and estates such as Chiswick, the similar arrangement at Lord Burlington's estate (see Figure 10, where the rectangular fish pond is similarly situated close to the house proper) may have been a source of direct or indirect inspiration for this feature of the Ravensworth landscape. It should also be noted that the construction of water features in such a regular shape in this position near the house proper is typical of the earlier part of the eighteenth century (see Currie 1990) and does not necessarily correspond to the later, more Picturesque conception of an outdoor experience. As such, the fish pond may well be a vestige of early efforts made by either the 3rd or 4th Baronet.

AP4 begins at a set of stairs from the primary north-south access road which leads to a route through the interior of the estate, guiding the visitor first due west below Meadow Fence and then continuing

north-north-west along the periphery of the northern part of the property through Hill Head Wood. Before making this turn to the north, however, the visitor would have passed a walled or fenced garden with an adjoining outbuilding just south of the path. The precise function of this feature remains unknown, but it would appear to be either a small animal paddock or vegetable garden. Following the path northwards, the visitor was led approximately 1.5 kilometres through mostly forested terrain, passing through Hill Head Wood, Cox Close Wood, and eventually through Fuger Field Wood where the path terminated at Public High Road (now the A692). Midway through this journey lies another outbuilding of simple rectangular form yet slightly larger than the paddock/garden outbuilding encountered near the origin of AP4. It is unclear whether the scenic walk would have finished at this point or if the eighteenth century visitor would have continued westwards along Public High Road around the northern periphery of the property (comparing with the first edition Ordnance Survey map, Plate 2, this may not have been the only route through this portion of the estate, bearing in mind that the later map depicts far more routes within this section of the parkland). AP5 begins at Cox Close at the northeast corner of the estate and crosses over The Trench along either of its two routes into the interior of the estate. AP6 terminates the route through the interior begun at either AP4 or AP5.

While AP7 eventually joins AP8 to lead the visitor through the middle part of the estate directly to the house proper, it is unclear from the map alone and without fieldwork whether the path between these two entry points led visitors through scenic, wooded terrain or simply along the edge of the estate. Considering the density of woodland in this area visible in current satellite images of the area, with open fields abutting the forest along what appears to be the original western boundary of the estate, the path from AP6 may well have led around the periphery rather than through woodland. It is from AP8 that the visitor would have begun a journey through the estate's middle area, moving eastwards through woodland along a winding road towards the house proper.

Other access roads are found within the estate and the road leading south from the house proper is of particular interest. This road passed beside the western edge of a large walled or fenced garden feature bounded on the east by the access road, on the north by the outbuilding, and on the south by a wall. The purpose of the feature is unknown, but it can be reasonably assumed that the walls bounded a garden of some sort. The southern wall is especially curious as it is illustrated with a double line, whereas all other walls and fences on the map are depicted using a single line. The entirety of this area is today covered by a thick wood but close field inspection may reveal evidence of former enclosure here.

The area directly southwest of the house proper along the main north-south access road is of particular interest considering Sir Henry 3rd Baronet's affinity for parterre garden plots (see Newton Hall section below, where the 3rd Bt commissioned a design for a similar garden feature). Aerial photographs taken shortly after the Nash house was near completely demolished (c.1956) clearly show the remains of a rectangular feature of some kind in the area directly south of the eighteenth century house proper

(Figure 11). To corroborate that these are definitively depressions in the soil and not simply the result of ploughing, the images also show remains of medieval ridge and furrow farming lines to the west of the rectangular feature. While the supposed feature cannot be confirmed as such until geophysical survey is conducted, it is curious to note its disappearance. At least by the time Fryer surveyed the estate and the etching of 1787 was made (Figure 21), there was no such feature recorded here.



Figure 11: Aerial photographs of Ravensworth Estate c.1960, from northeast (top) and south (bottom)
Showing landscape imprint of Nash-era house and anomaly on south lawn
Courtesy Norman McCord Collection, Newcastle University

Apart from access analysis, the remainder of the Ravensworth estate was composed mostly of woodland (much of which appears to have been planted on a metric grid; cf. Gibside) with a number of open areas in locations around the property. Using ArchiMaps GIS software, Fryer's map has been overlain across current Ordnance Survey maps (Plates 1-4, with thanks to Janine Watson, Durham Archaeological Services, and Dr. Brian Buchanan, Department of Archaeology, University of Durham). The map was digitally scanned at a high resolution, producing a large .tiff file and the corresponding portion of the current OS Map extracted from the DigiMap online database. These two large images were then imported to ArchiMaps. After identifying six known points which have remained constant (namely field boundaries west of the estate, the intersection of Coach Road and Cross Lane, and the former Public High Road at the northern boundary of the estate which is now Consett Road/A692), these points were matched on the OS and Fryer's map. The percent error was less than 1, indicating that Fryer's cartography was exemplary at the very least. With these data points established remained constant portion of the current OS Map extracted from the DigiMap online database. These two large images were then imported to ArchiMaps. After identifying six known points which have remained constant (namely field boundaries west of the estate, the intersection of Coach Road and Cross Lane, and the former Public High Road at the northern boundary of the estate which is now Consett Road/A692), these points were matched on the OS and Fryer's map. The percent error was less than 1, indicating that Fryer's cartography was exemplary at the very least. With these data points established the geoplotted Fryer map was uploaded into GoogleEarth where its transparency over the satellite imagery can easily be increased or decreased.

The degree of accuracy of Fryer's map is not only a testament to his skill but also means that interpretation of the landscape can be that much more accurate. Looking at the 1785 image with a 10-15 percent transparency, it is clear that most boundaries of woodland have changed little since the late eighteenth century, even considering the strange shapes of boundaries particularly in the southern portion of the estate near "The Avenue" and the northeast portion where a thin portion of the estate juts out from the otherwise regular property line. Even the area of the supposed banqueting house shows a thickly wooded area in precisely the same shape as that noted on the 1785 map and the later first edition Ordnance Survey map. Owing to this level of accuracy, historic roads and paths can be drawn onto the satellite image and used as reference points when access to the site is granted.

Given the surprisingly low instance of change during the entire nineteenth and twentieth centuries despite a complete redesign of the house proper in the former and disuse and decline of the site in the latter, the primary conclusion from this exercise is the structuring role that earlier landscape features had in the later industrial and aesthetic redesign of the estate parkland. This is not to say that the experience of the landscape remained static but rather that analysis of the current landscape arrangement may reasonably be applied to an interpretation of the eighteenth century character, barring just a few changes. Perhaps not surprisingly, the greater estate's landscape design carried through to the

twentieth century while the areas where the most change occurred are located near the house proper. First and foremost, the arrangement of outbuildings and walled/fenced gardens in this area is almost completely lost. Included in these losses are the large, square plot south east of the house proper (replaced with woodland during Nash improvements, OS 1857), the long outbuildings north and south of the circular walkways at the house's east approach (demolished to make way for stables, OS 1857), the T-shaped outbuilding east of the house on the opposite side of the main access north-south access road (potentially reused, see OS 1857), and the five small outbuildings just north of the house (lost during Nash improvements, OS 1857).

Beyond the area of the house, a number of other changes are present. The path which leads north from AP4 was clearly altered and enriched as shown in comparison with the 1857 Ordnance Survey map. A thick wood now covers the location of the aforementioned small outbuilding along this path. This road may well have been moved just west of its eighteenth century position since satellite images and the 1857 OS show a north-south route nearby but this later road does not lead to the house proper, instead diverting west towards and through High Park Wood. In the southern portion of the estate, the landscape has again changed little but no longer shows evidence for the main access road that began at API. The first hundred yards of this road now passes through a thickly wooded patch before emerging onto an open field.

Though the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey map clearly shows an expansion of the possible routes through Ravensworth's interior, the nonlinear arrangement of earlier routes shown in Fryer's map of 1785 highlighted the major features of the estate and dictated the ways in which the landscape should be experienced (discussed below in comparison with the Bowes' estate at Gibside). Medieval and industrial characteristics were displayed for the visitor in the retention of such features as the fourteenth century towers and the previously explained intrusive industrial innovations of the late seventeenth century. These dictated the nature of the visitor's participation with the landscape, where the eighteenth century experience of the estate was engineered within the confines of the pre-existing landscape. In the second part of this chapter, such experiences and their origins are discussed in comparison with relevant contemporary local sites.

“The Avenue”

At the eastern edge of lower High Park Wood and Stotts Pasture lies a vaguely square plot of land, comprising approximately fifteen hectares. On Fryer's map this area is notated as “*THE AVENUE*” in a capitalised font unlike any other found on the document. With no roads or paths leading through this area, save for an east-west path from the house proper that follows the northern boundary of the plot, the idea of an “avenue” is called into question and, as such, its application at Ravensworth is worth exploration here.

From the Oxford English Dictionary, an avenue is defined as the chief approach to a country-house, usually bordered by trees. This definition is supported by period-specific references (“that this may yet be no prejudice to the meaner capacities let them read for avenue, the principal walk to the front of the house, or seat” (Evelyn, *Sylva*, 1664); “drawn by the Appearance of your handsome House [...] and walking up the Avenue” (Farquhar, *Beaux Stratagem*, 1707, iv. 41)); in both cases, the avenue is used to describe the main approach to a structure where the visitor would be acclimatised to the intended experience of the country house before eventually arriving at the house itself. It is a rehearsal for the primary attraction, a form of habituation for the visitor. The experience of the landscape or place is distilled into an approach which will establish a tone for the visit and contextualise the greater landscape.

This characterisation is and was echoed at a number of important sites, namely the aforementioned contemporary estates at Seaton Delaval, Gibside, and Streatlam (each discussed below). Each of these estates offer the visitor a formal approach to an architectural feature, though at Seaton Delaval the central access road is not lined with trees. It does, however, lead the visitor through an open field before arriving at the house proper, distinguishing the estate experience from the public road. Gibside's avenue consists of a long and wide stretch of land raised a metre above the flanking roads, lined on either side with trees spaced at regular intervals, and bounded at either end by Paine's Chapel and the 146-foot Column of British Liberty. At Streatlam, the approach is far more easily defined as an avenue, regardless of whether the access road is named as such. As is discussed below, the house proper is reached via a curving road lined with trees, terminating at a bridge over a rivulet of the Tees with the house proper on the opposite side. While trees do not line the entire approach, the first 300 metres of the road have regularly spaced trees on the western edge, with the remainder of trees along the road spaced sporadically. In any case, this road succeeded in introducing the visitor to the estate and properly preparing him or her for the first views of the house proper in its landscape context.

The Ravensworth “Avenue” does not comply with any of the aforementioned criteria, at least not in its late eighteenth century form. The estate was accessed by any one the eight aforementioned points, none of which lead through or, for that matter, anywhere near the Avenue. The situation is further complicated when considering Gibson's plan of 1788 (image attached) where the Ravensworth estate, though depicted in an abstract sense, is clearly approached from the south along a road just south of the house proper, essentially the location of the Avenue, and not along the more western path originating at API. If the Avenue was not the main approach, yet Fryer was still compelled to both designate it as such and use a different typography, the area must have held a particular significance at an earlier point in Ravensworth's history (this could well have been the historic primary approach). Though not distinguished as such in earlier maps (see previous sections on medieval and early modern Ravensworth), neither was the estate itself afforded much in the way of detailed depiction, at least not until the Fryer and Gibson maps were published. The Ravensworth of the seventeenth century could

well have been approached by an avenue in this location, especially considering the seventeenth century use of the word mentioned above.

For the purposes of this thesis, the Avenue will remain designated as such but should not be understood as an “avenue” per se. Ravensworth's avenue could be better understood as originating at AP2, where the road to the house proper was lined on one side by woodland at the southern boundary of Mill Pasture and on the other by Shanks Wood. This path eventually led the visitor to the eastern side of the house proper where he or she would move through the two square sections with circular driveways, both of which were lined with trees on the north and south sides. A similar approach can be postulated for the road leading from AP3. In this sense, Ravensworth did not have a primary avenue in the same sense as Streatlam Castle despite designating a section of its landscape as such. Nonetheless, the Avenue was indeed an important feature of the landscape, regardless of its name, and one which was likely an inheritance from an earlier iteration of the Ravensworth landscape experience.

Introducing the Comparative Model

Having established the major features of Ravensworth's landscape by working backwards from Fryer's 1785 estate plan, discussion will turn next to a comparative model where specific features and implications of such are considered in comparison with relevant local contemporaries. These comparative sections address five primary characteristics of the estate by assigning such themes to sites which best illustrate the concepts, these being the fortified nature of Ravensworth's medieval castle and grounds (cf. Seaton Delaval Hall), the arrangement and use of seventeenth and eighteenth century features within a medieval deer park (cf. Streatlam Castle), the design process of the coal baron and its implications within wider landscapes (cf. Newton Hall), the processional, participatory, and dynamic objectives of the landscape (cf. Gibside), and the relationship between industrial and aesthetic uses for a single estate parkland (cf. Lumley Castle). Through these comparisons, the Ravensworth Estate may be better understood and appreciated as a cumulative landscape which was continually adapted to suit the purposes of specific periods of its nearly eight-hundred-year history.

Seaton Delaval and the Fortified Estate

Ravensworth Castle is first and foremost a medieval estate with all subsequent features developing within this traditional use of the space. As is explored in the chapter to follow, the architectural history of this site reveals a recurring attention paid to the fourteenth century character of the site and its buildings with each successive campaign for rebuilding and/or extension embracing this legacy. As this thesis is primarily concerned with the ways in which new "mercantile gentry" were able to achieve recognition within the system of elite housing culture, particularly where the creation of legacy is possible through the employing of associative architectural and landscape forms, it is necessary to examine the local traditions which may have governed the initial architectural choices made at Ravensworth. The Liddells' tenure at Ravensworth may be understood as a period of embracing the existing landscape and architecture and retaining certain aspects traditional to the region: the primary aspect being the enclosed nature of the castle and landscape. While the specifics of the house's retention of medieval fabric are discussed in Chapter V, the nature of deliberate retention of medieval enclosure as it pertains to the house's place within its landscape (paying particular attention to notions of exclusivity) is discussed in this section.

Vanbrugh's redesign of Seaton Delaval Hall on the Northumbrian coast (c.1718-28) is an excellent local point of comparison where the landscape architecture is intended to embrace a traditional format of the enclosed estate. The structure embraces and showcases its defensive qualities, creating a visible continuity in form that combines the historically defensive architectural style of the region with a new Palladian ideal for the elite estate landscape. By examining the defensive character of Seaton Delaval as an eighteenth century interpretation of the medieval defensive estate and relating this to Ravensworth Castle, it is possible to appreciate the motivations behind retaining Ravensworth's medieval character

through to its early nineteenth century redesign by John Nash as a defining feature while simultaneously contextualising such motivations within the culture of housing in the wider region.

While the development and extent of enclosure in England is still a subject for debate among historians (Williamson 2007:15), most would agree that the period between 1650 and 1750 saw just as much division of the English landscape as was the consequence of Parliamentary acts from the 1750s. It was during this period at the beginning of the long eighteenth century when an impetus to divide and exclude came to the fore. As one land agent put it:

“If we cannot purchase on terms we would, we must purchase on the terms we can, as from its contiguity [the farm in question] is extremely desirable, and to have a disagreeable neighbour, so near, would be superlatively vexatious” (quoted in Clay 1984:179).

The landowner aspired to a property that was “extensive, compact and continuous” (Williamson 2007:15). This is the crucial difference between an earlier ideal, i.e. the celebration of exotic and elaborate garden features, and the beginnings of a Picturesque movement in landscape design. The worth and prestige of an estate would no longer be contingent on the design of its parterres and waterworks, for example, but rather by the degree to which it functioned as a complete and cogent whole. This also coincided with a renewed affinity for forests, where previous generations had seen mass deforestation in many areas of England due to the Civil Wars and Interregnum (Hochburg 1984:738; discussed in Chapter III in connection with the rise of coal as a fuel alternative). In the years following, however, the value of trees and forested lands increased steadily from the middle part of the seventeenth century (Williamson 1995:124-9). Planting and preserving a private landscape meant a long-term investment in a relaxed economic climate, as well as a sign of patriotism in a period of frequent warring. For those Protestant families wishing to solidify their place in the higher classes of the British private sector, this was an investment worth making. As Williamson puts it, “plantations equals gentlemen,” and “plantations equals enclosure” (2007:19).

In terms of this thesis, it is fortunate that these principals of enclosure are so aptly and concisely exemplified at Seaton Delaval Hall, Northumberland. Here one finds one of Vanbrugh's most interesting exercises in combining Palladian design with regard for local traditions (it is well known that Vanbrugh was an ardent supporter of preserving the ancient constitutions of English estate landscapes; see ‘Reasons Offer’d for Preserving some Part of the Old Manor’, 11 June 1709; reproduced in Dixon Hunt & Willis 1988:120-1). Beyond the architectural innovation and influence of the house proper (begun c.1718 for Admiral George Delaval) which has been widely discussed in the literature (Wittkower 1943:156-8, McCormick 1987:36-7, Hart 2003, and Curl 2011, particularly Chapter III), Vanbrugh's landscape design provides something of an intermediary for landscape architectural history in the north of England. For this estate, Vanbrugh (and his patron) designed perhaps the most militarily-inspired of its kind in the region, at least in the symbolic sense. Besides the estate's proximity to water (approximately 1.3km from the North Sea coastline), several features of the house proper make explicit reference to

Delaval's military career, one example being admirals' hats and Neptune's trident in the metopes of the frieze on the north façade (see Hart 2008:159-61). Fortunately for the sake of this thesis and indeed heritage in general, the house, its gardens, and its enclosure are quite well preserved and thus open for inspection by the interested party.

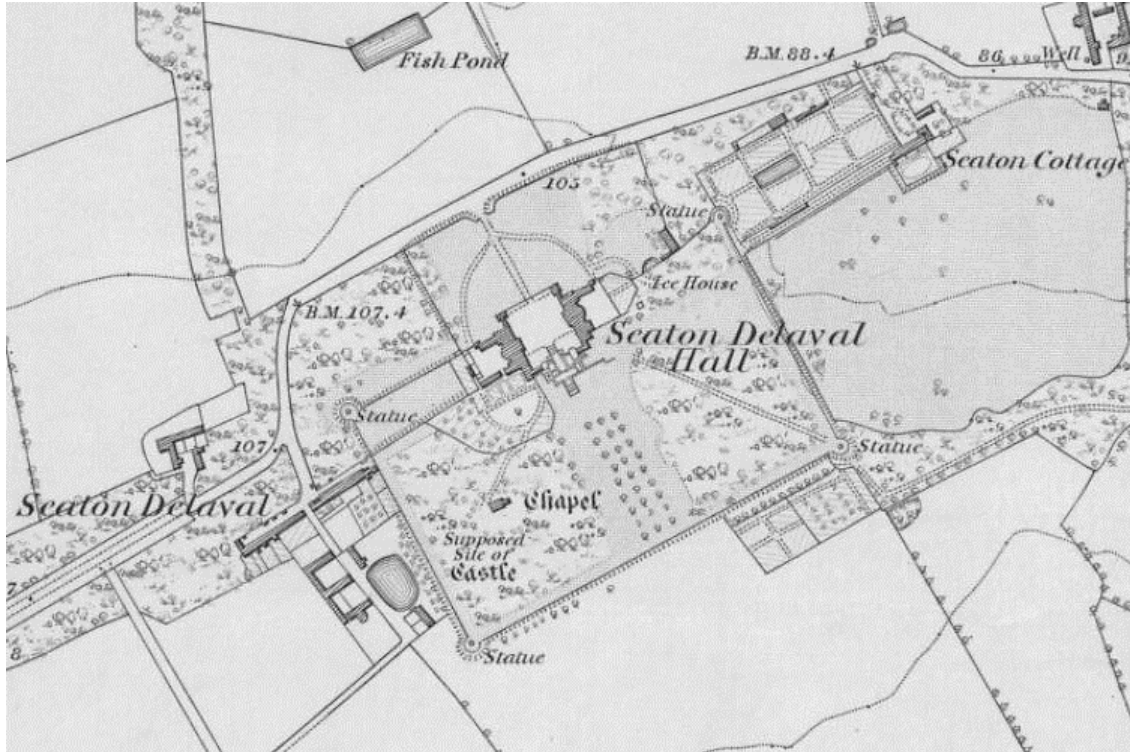


Figure 12: Detail of Seaton Delaval Hall, North-South orientation.
First edition Ordnance Survey Map, 1865
National Library of Scotland, available from <http://maps.nls.uk/view/102346440>

Surrounding the house proper are a grand avenue approach on the north side, parterres abutting the house on the west and southwest oblique faces, a paddock to the south, and forested areas along the four corners. All of these features are enclosed within a vast rectangular stone wall. The wall is ditched on the exterior and features four circular bastions at the main angles. While it is unclear why Vanbrugh and his patron sought to create such defences for the estate, considering particularly the deep ditches surrounding the walls that cannot necessarily be taken for ha-has, the design represents a pinnacle of the enclosure movement in architecture echoed in other estates that dotted the contemporary English landscape. Interestingly enough, a similar bastioned design was sent to George Bowes at Gibside in 1727 by the architect William Etty, who had served under Vanbrugh at Seaton Delaval (Colvin 1995:354-5). This design was never realised, yet stands as a testament to the style's local appeal.

The “fortified estate” of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries may well have been (and likely was) a response to political unrest, especially following the Jacobite Rebellions (discussed in Chapter III), whether intended as symbolic or for actual defence of a property. That said, this particular breed of landscape design could assist in explaining a shift from radiating avenues to bounded parkland,

especially in County Durham and Northumberland where defences were a legitimate concern during this period. Once attacks along the borderlands (and indeed in Newcastle itself, as has been addressed in Chapter III) had subsided, the walled estate would have fallen out of immediate necessity but a number of trends would have resulted from its innovations. First, by walling the area of the house proper and a small portion of associated grounds, the remainder of the estate was effectively left as open (albeit well-manicured) wilderness. Excessive use of parterres was not feasible within the walls, and as such the trend was downsized (as at Seaton Delaval where only two small parterres were constructed). Furthermore, radiating avenues (perhaps best exemplified in Knyff and Kip's c.1707 engraving of Badminton, Gloucestershire, which would have formed a web of walkways through the vast grounds of the estate) had to be significantly reduced for the fortified plan to be effective as a design. What was left was a microcosm of formerly compulsory garden features contained within a smaller space.

Once the fortifications are removed, one is left with an estate reminiscent of a typical northern design of the middle part of the long eighteenth century showing a strong correspondence with the region's history of conflict in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In comparison with Seaton Delaval, fortifications found at Ravensworth were remnants of actual medieval "defences" intended more as a statement of power than a truly defensive complex. Since Seaton Delaval was essentially a new build (the approximate location of the former castle is noted on the Ordnance Survey map of 1868, see Figure 12), Admiral Delaval was clearly interested in preserving something of a medieval character for the estate's landscape: an ambition made all the more easy at Ravensworth since the original structure was retained.

Not unlike other estates in the north of England such as Alnwick, Raby, and Lumley (altered c.1750, c.1754, and c.1721, respectively), the value of the Ravensworth Estate was its successful combination of the associative power of medieval origins and its well-suited accompanying landscape, retaining these features during redevelopment in the 1720s-30s (incidentally just following Admiral Delaval's decidedly militaristic rebuilding of Seaton Delaval's landscape). When Thomas Liddell (d.1616) came into possession of the estate, he effectively inherited a medieval structure fortified in its architectural design and the surrounding landscape and in this sense took on the responsibility of maintaining a military origin story (see especially Girouard 1981). From the fourteenth century, this estate landscape has been defined by its suggestions of defensive properties, focused more so on creating external perceptions of security (and, thus, of prestige) than actually providing the former to its inhabitants. This is the basal characteristic of the estate which was glorified by successive generations Baronets and Barons Ravensworth foregoing sweeping changes to the landscape in favour of retaining the landscape's medieval constitution.

Streatlam Castle: An Early Modern Adaptation of a Medieval Parkland

The English landscape garden of the eighteenth century had a number of stock elements, where most important gardens will incorporate a unique combination of similar features based on the trends and innovations of the period. These include, but are not limited to, shelter belts (or windbreaks) and clumps of trees (oftentimes of an exotic variety), follies, shrubberies, uses of the ha-ha, and new means for moving and displaying water. Once these elements are recognised and understood, the variations in application can be better interpreted, and in the context of this thesis, characteristics of the landscape of the coal baron's estate can begin to emerge. Streatlam Castle seems to encapsulate nearly all elements of the Georgian garden, and yet its application of these elements within the context of a medieval deer park is what distinguishes it from its contemporaries and allies it with estates such as Ravensworth and Lumley. In this section, such features of Streatlam's landscape will be examined and applied to an interpretive discussion of the relevant landscape features present at Ravensworth in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as they relate to adapting early modern qualities for an existing medieval landscape.

Streatlam Castle estate lies approximately two miles northwest of the city of Barnard Castle in County Durham and was owned and occupied by the Bowes family for five hundred years of its more than one thousand year history (recorded occupation of Streatlam begins with the Balliol family, a Picard and Anglo-Norman family with northern English lordship dating to the late eleventh century, who held the estate until the 14th century when it was transferred to Sir Adam Bowes; Hutchinson 1823:305). In much the same manner as was the case at Ravensworth, the castle was substantially remodelled in the eighteenth century around the medieval core. Streatlam remained a family into the twentieth century despite the family's acquiring of the Gibside estate in 1714 (by far the largest of their landholdings). Beyond the many architectural parallels with Ravensworth, particularly relating to the refacing of an earlier structure (discussed at length in Chapter VI), comparative analysis of the wider Streatlam Estate offers much to this thesis, particularly as a processional landscape (Upton 1984) and one which does not have an industrial component.

It is unfortunate that no truly comprehensive estate map exists for Streatlam, at least none that can compare with that available for Ravensworth. Speed's 1611 map of the Bishoprick of Durham (Figure 13) shows "Stretlam" and includes a small caricature of the house proper but offers no other details. Gibson's 1788 map of the Great North Coalfield does not reach as far south and west as Barnard Castle or Streatlam. Despite the lack of available maps, much of Streatlam's landscape history can be deduced from contemporary written records and modern satellite imagery of the area as well as comparison with what is known of the Liddell's estate. Beginning with the former, Hutchinson records that the open, southern portion of the estate was "used as a park for deer" (Hutchinson 1823:308). Even though this observation was made towards the end of the eighteenth century, the shape of the estate as viewed at present (Figure 14) suggests a much earlier date for the establishing of a deer park. Following the main

approach to the house proper, the boundary of trees to the west mirrors this gentle curve to form a circular enclosure in the southwestern corner of the estate. The boundary is defined in the northwest corner by a path lined with a double row of trees, no doubt evidence of retention of the medieval feature on the part of the early modern occupiers. As has been discussed, the medieval deer park almost always followed this circular arrangement, and the deer park observed by Hutchinson may well have been a feature retained from the earliest Bowes family occupation of Streatlam, if not the earlier Balliol tenancy. While Ravensworth's deer park enclosed the entire estate rather than a portion, Streatlam's design most certainly evolved from a similar medieval use of space. In this manner, the two estate landscapes share a common medieval identity and retention of such.



Figure 13: Detail of *The Bishoprick and Citie of Durham*, John Speed c.1611
Showing Streatlam in relation to Barnard Castle (DCO Prints (C) Rut/Durham 1/78b)

As stated above, the main approach at Streatlam is from the south where the primary access road curves eastwards and then back westwards to terminate at the house proper. This road is lined with trees spaced at regular intervals on its western side yet this arrangement gives way to a more open scene after the first third of the road has passed. From this point onwards, the landscape is open, with a less ordered scheme of trees on either side of the road. Before reaching the house proper, the visitor must pass over a bridge which seems to have a middle to late eighteenth century form and balustrades characteristic of this period (visible in photographs from the 1920s, see Figure 50). The south face of the house is visible for most of the approach, though following the crossing of this bridge, the visitor stands just under sixty metres from the main entrance, making for quite an imposing view of the house and a bold sensation of arrival.



Figure 14: Streatlam Castle, reconstruction of eighteenth century estate
Produced in partnership with Archaeological Services, University of Durham

As compared to the Ravensworth Estate, Streatlam has what can be called a textbook example of the eighteenth century “avenue” (see Lawrence 1988, Couch 1992). The approach presents the house within its landscape context by introducing the visitor to an area contained within yet absolutely distinct from the surrounding landscape (see in particular Upton 1984 which discusses the concept of the “processional” landscape as experienced in predetermined sequences according to rank and/or class). Instilling this reaction and mood in the visitor meant a careful attention to the arrangement of woodland and open green space, while at the same time working with the existing landscape features (i.e. the deer park enclosure). This is an important link between Streatlam, Ravensworth, and sites in the New World (as shall be discussed in Chapter VII), where the eighteenth century landscape is informed by and indeed intentionally associated with earlier landscape functions while accommodating and showcasing new functionality and purpose. Ravensworth does not have a typical “avenue” approach (its “Avenue” being more of an open space than a dictated approach), instead including several points of access (as discussed above). That said, the eastern access point (AP2) is perhaps the best point of comparison to that at Streatlam simply because it gradually introduces the visitor to the landscape park, eventually terminating at the entrance to the house proper.

At Streatlam, the larger circular area south of the rivulet (in this case, the avenue is situated in the centre of a circle) can be traced via a path which led the visitor around the southern portion of the estate. This route would have offered the visitor views of wooded patches, open green space, and well-orchestrated points for gazing at the estate's manicured and natural topography. In the centre of the deer park, there is a small cluster of woodland (labelled at present as “Phillips Wood”). Not unlike other estates of the period (e.g. Gibside and Ravensworth), trees in this patch were planted on a grid.

Phillips Wood is one of five isolated plots of woodland found on the property, each of which have brutally straight boundaries. While it is impossible to know whether each is composed of distinct types of trees without properly surveying the property, as Streatlam Castle is privately owned and access was not possible during the researching of this thesis, the form and placement of isolated groups of trees are distinct features of the northern country estate and indeed of the estate of the coal baron (cf. Ravensworth and Gibside, where these are the locations of pits or quarries, in most cases hidden away from view within thickly-wooded areas).

In terms of outbuildings and gardens, satellite imagery shows a number of smaller structures on the property, one of which survives just due west of the site of the house proper. Judging by its proximity to the house proper, this was likely an orangery or garden patio area, especially since the structure lies at the southern boundary of a large rectangular walled garden or field. Directly south of here and on the other side of the rivulet lie the remains of another rectangular garden feature. This garden has a curiously shaped interior with what appears to be a path from the boundary which turns in a circle before returning to the same point at the edge. It is unknown whether this feature is a survival from the period in question, though it bears a resemblance to the “banqueting house” grouping of trees at Ravensworth, particularly the nineteenth century iteration of this landscape feature as “Greenhouse Walks.”

Streatlam's landscape is not constructed from a blank slate as was often the case during the period in question. At notable Georgian gardens such as Stourhead, Kedleston, Prior Park, Stowe, and Studley Royal, the landscape certainly incorporated natural features of an area yet the design as a whole was the realisation of a foreign ideal. This is not to say that such gardens were any less the products of an English aesthetic; rather, the gardens at Streatlam and Ravensworth are distinct in their incorporation of features which respond to the existing medieval and/or early modern industrial landscape. The same can be said of the structures themselves, and this is discussed at length in the chapters to follow.

When Hutchinson visited the property in the later part of the eighteenth century, he described the view of the deer park from the house proper and commented that “there is something romantic in such secluded scenes, but they are better suited to the vicinity of a cottage than a palace” (1823:308). Evidently, Hutchinson's impression of a grand country estate did not include such a feature. The estate retains the deer park as its main feature even in the present day, and as such, it is interesting to inquire as to why the landscape was never updated to a standard with which Hutchinson may have been more familiar. This may have much to do with the Bowes family relocating their primary family seat thirty miles north to the Derwent Valley, though it is known that George Bowes continued to make use of Streatlam even while concentrating most of his efforts on improvements at Gibside (Bowes bred racehorses at Streatlam; Durham County Council report, 1980) and the family continued to live in the house and improve upon its architecture up until the early twentieth century.

In each of these case studies lies a greater agenda and wider theme for the landscape, where the underlying purposes for design are discernible and appreciable. When Streatlam is subjected to this type of analysis, however, it becomes quite clear that the most important feature of its landscape is its deer park. As has been explained, the principal walking routes of the property quite literally revolve around the circular area. Even the shape and location of its primary access road is dictated by the form and function of the deer park. Rather than installing a grand, reflective pond or well-placed folly, the deer park is retained, highlighted, and celebrated. Following Upton (1984), the Georgian estate may well be characterised by its diversity in application of forms.

Newton Hall and Calculated Omniscience

As has been outlined in Chapter I, this thesis presents the landholdings of the Liddell family as one house in four places with each of these four components serving separate purposes specific to their distinct landscapes. Where Ravensworth Castle was the undisputed centre of industrial activity and the “ancient” family seat, two of the remaining three houses ensured a necessary visibility for the family in London, the epicenter of national political activity, and in Durham City, where the political and religious affairs of the County Palatine were focused. This section will address the latter house, acquired by the Liddells in 1662 from the Blakiston family and situated atop a ridge northwest of Durham City. While details of the house’s architectural history as they relate to that of Ravensworth are discussed at length in Chapter VI, the landscape components of Newton Hall are examined here, especially where these shed light on the design practices of the Baronets Ravensworth (specifically those of the 3rd Bt) and as they pertain to the role of the estate within the wider landscape.

By the early eighteenth century, the Liddells’ estate at Ravensworth had been owned by the family for nearly one hundred years and by this point reflected the changing fortunes of the family in its architecture. This was something of a compound, a *mélange* of different architectural components confined to the inward design of an ancient stone fortress. For the 3rd Bt, however, an amateur enthusiasm for architecture and landscape design drove the estate towards a more contemporary statement of cultural participation and understanding while emphasising the role of the estate as participating in its industrial surroundings. At Newton Hall, improvements to the estate corresponded with increased connection and visibility on the periphery of the Prince Bishop’s cathedral city. Some examples of estates lying in the immediate vicinity of Durham City include Croxdale Hall (Salvin family from the fifteenth century), Crook Hall (primarily of the fourteenth century), Ramside Hall (various owners from the fifteenth century onwards, purchased in 1737 by the Hutton family, replaced by Belmont Hall c.1820 by Pemberton family; Pevsner 1983:93), and the later Mount Oswald Manor (begun c.1800): all of which shared in this impetus for access to and association with the city of the Prince Bishop.

In terms of the specific features of Newton Hall's designed landscape, a series of letters written by the 3rd Bt to his son John Bright of Badsworth (3rd Bt married Catherine Bright of Badsworth, and John assumed this surname becoming principal heir to his maternal grandfather; see "Pedigree of Bright of Carbrook and Badsworth" in Hunter 1819:249) include a number of images of the proposed (and evidently realized; see Figure 17, based upon first edition Ordnance Survey c.1857) garden scheme located directly south of the main house (Figure 15). In the letter containing this design, Liddell's tone is collaborative and educated. The 3rd Bt (who is noted as being of Newton Hall before succeeding his father as Baronet Ravensworth; DRO D/CG 16/581 and 16/583) has a clear vision for the visitor's experience of Newton Hall and seeks to achieve a landscape that will inspire, impress, and boast his talents as a seasoned and cultured patron of architecture. That said, Newton Hall afforded something of a manageable blank slate upon which to express creativity. Since the estate was considerably smaller than Ravensworth, the experience would be complete with just a few well-executed features laid out in a pleasing arrangement. Lessons learned while managing the much larger family seat in Gateshead could be applied on a microcosmic scale, retaining the architectural style of the former and thus forcing an association between the two properties. As such, the anomaly in the aforementioned aerial photograph (Figure 11) may be better understood by comparing with Newton's garden parterre. Considering Liddell's plans for the garden at Newton and comparing them with the 1857 first edition Ordnance Survey map (reproduced in Figure 17), it is quite clear that the design was realised on nearly all accounts. With this established, it is easy to draw comparisons with a suspected garden feature at Ravensworth that bears a striking resemblance to that at Newton.

The 3rd Bt's letters also include a sketch for a possible grand walkway or second garden scheme (Figure 16; the plan is unlabelled and does not have a corresponding description as was apparently common for Liddell). The image shows a circular terrace with subsidiary footpaths radiating outwards and terminating at a large terrace which may well have abutted the house proper. On either side of this "avenue" are sections of trees or plants set in a regular, rectilinear arrangement. Beyond these beds are what seem to be slightly less regularly-arranged trees or shrubs, creating the effect of large triangular spaces replete with green. The sketch does not directly correspond with any part of the Newton Hall estate (Figure 17). While the drawing may well have been intended for Ravensworth (the collection at Sheffield Archives is not arranged by site, but rather chronologically), it is not safe to assume this, especially considering the lack of evidence in the landscape. That said, the area west of the house proper at Newton may have been the site of such a development, either intended or realised. The 1857 O.S. map shows the main entrance path to the estate following a southeast angle from the north, where it follows the south side of the fish pond and then juts southeast to the main entrance of the house. This path of access would directly supersede such a garden arrangement if it had in fact been constructed west of the house; as such, the garden cannot be safely assigned to either property. The path in the 1857 OS map may well be a remnant of one of the radiating paths shown on the early eighteenth century design; the direction and scale are congruous, but cannot be conclusively proven as related.

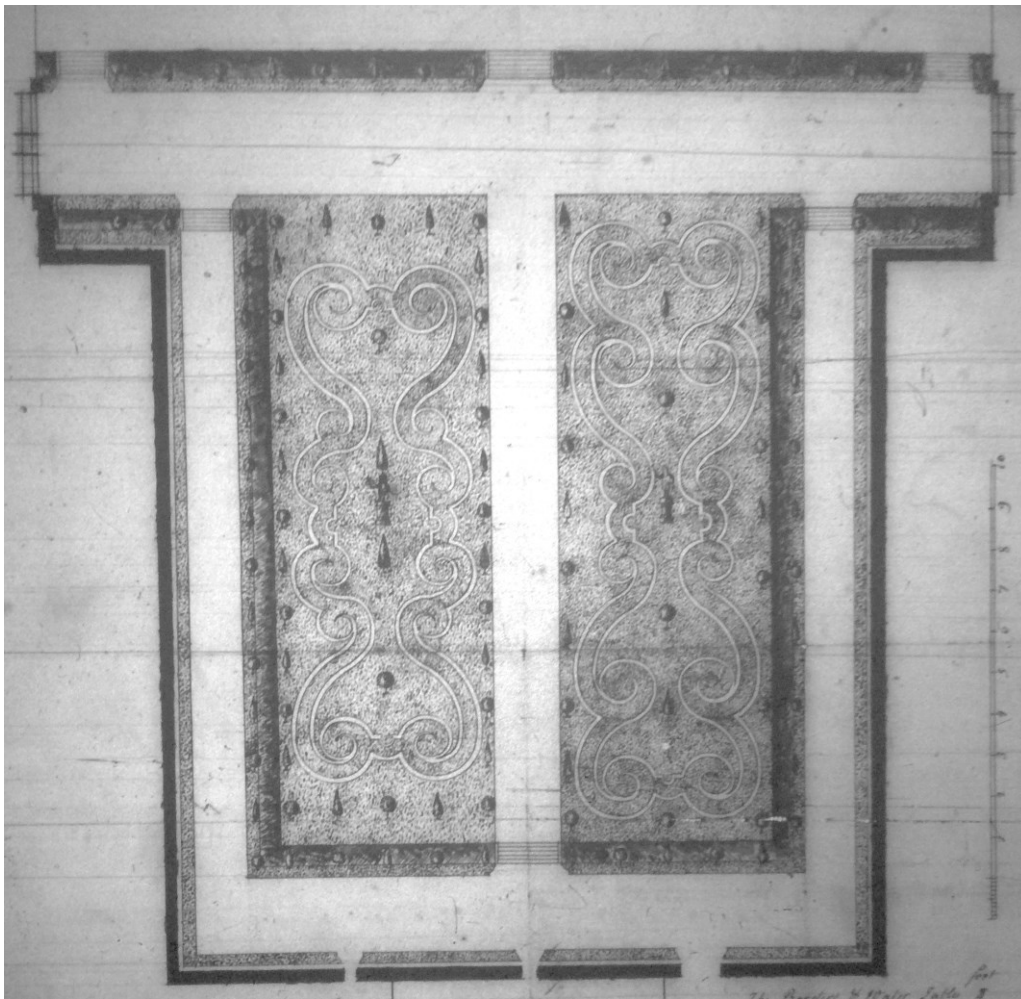


Figure 15: Plan of proposed parterre garden, Sir Henry Liddell to John Bright, c.1717 (WWM/Br/173)

Whether or not the drawing was realised as a feature of the landscape, this preference for a transitional space is documented at the main house at Ravensworth. In a c.1773 image of the house's main approach (Figure 28; also visible in Fryer's estate map of the same year), the "natural" landscape is shown to end abruptly at an iron fence and gate. Beyond this partition, the curtain wall of the medieval towers is joined by another fence, creating an enclosed, rectangular space. In the centre of this area existed a circular driveway bounded on both sides by large trees hanging over into the space. Beyond the curtain walls lay the proper front courtyard which led to the east facade of the house. In this arrangement, Liddell's landscape and access design achieves a number of processional devices. First, the visitor would have approached the house by way of a relatively bucolic route from the east, likely beginning their approach at Coach Road and continuing westward through the built landscape. Upon their arrival at the first gate, they would move into a space essentially guarded from the rural landscape surrounding. The trees flanking this space would have created a feeling of enclosure and stillness, preparing the visitor to experience the main courtyard and house proper as connected to yet most certainly exclusive of the surrounding pastoral landscape.

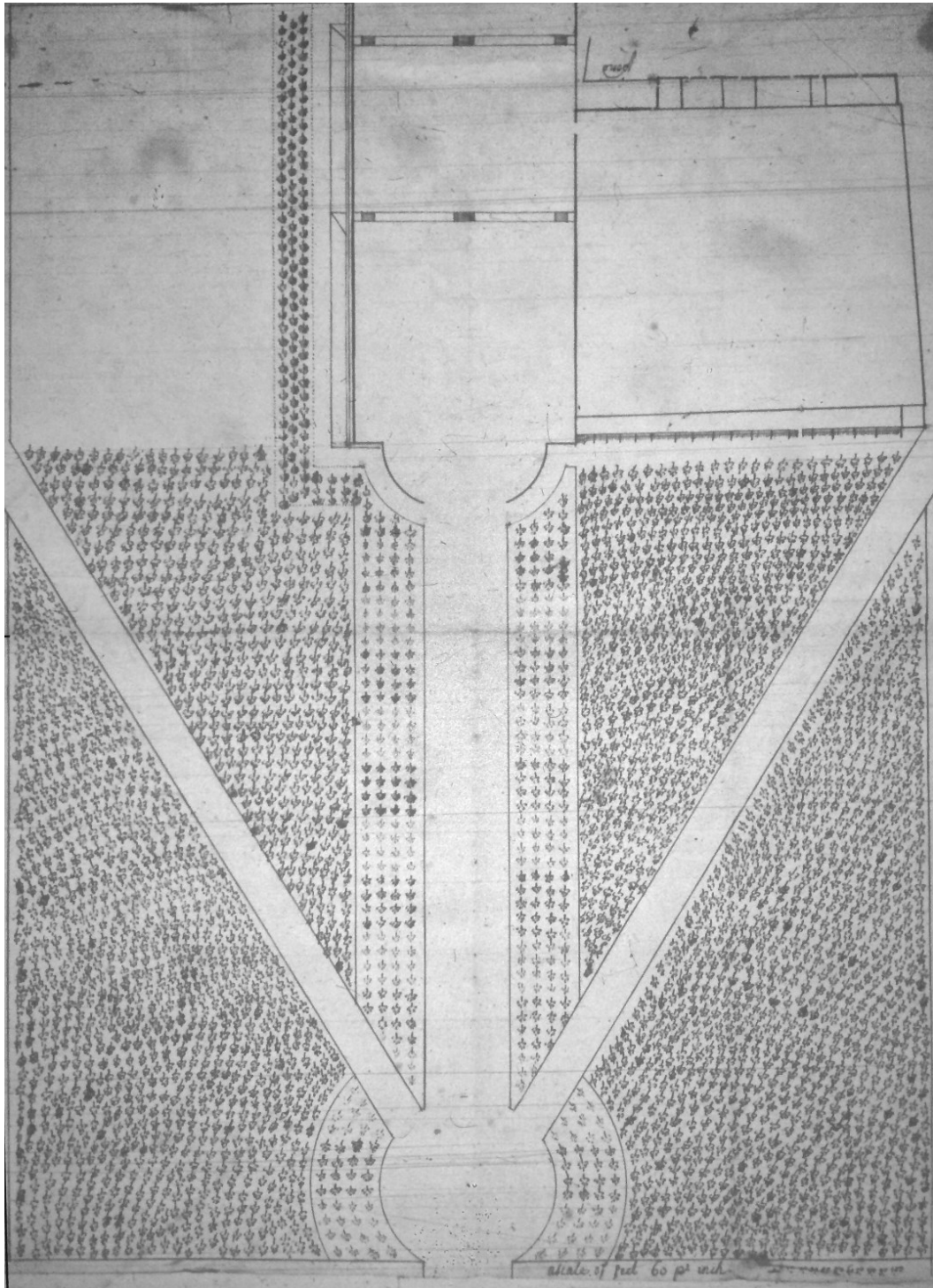


Figure 16: Plan of proposed avenue, Sir Henry Liddell to John Bright, c.1717 (WWM/Br/173)

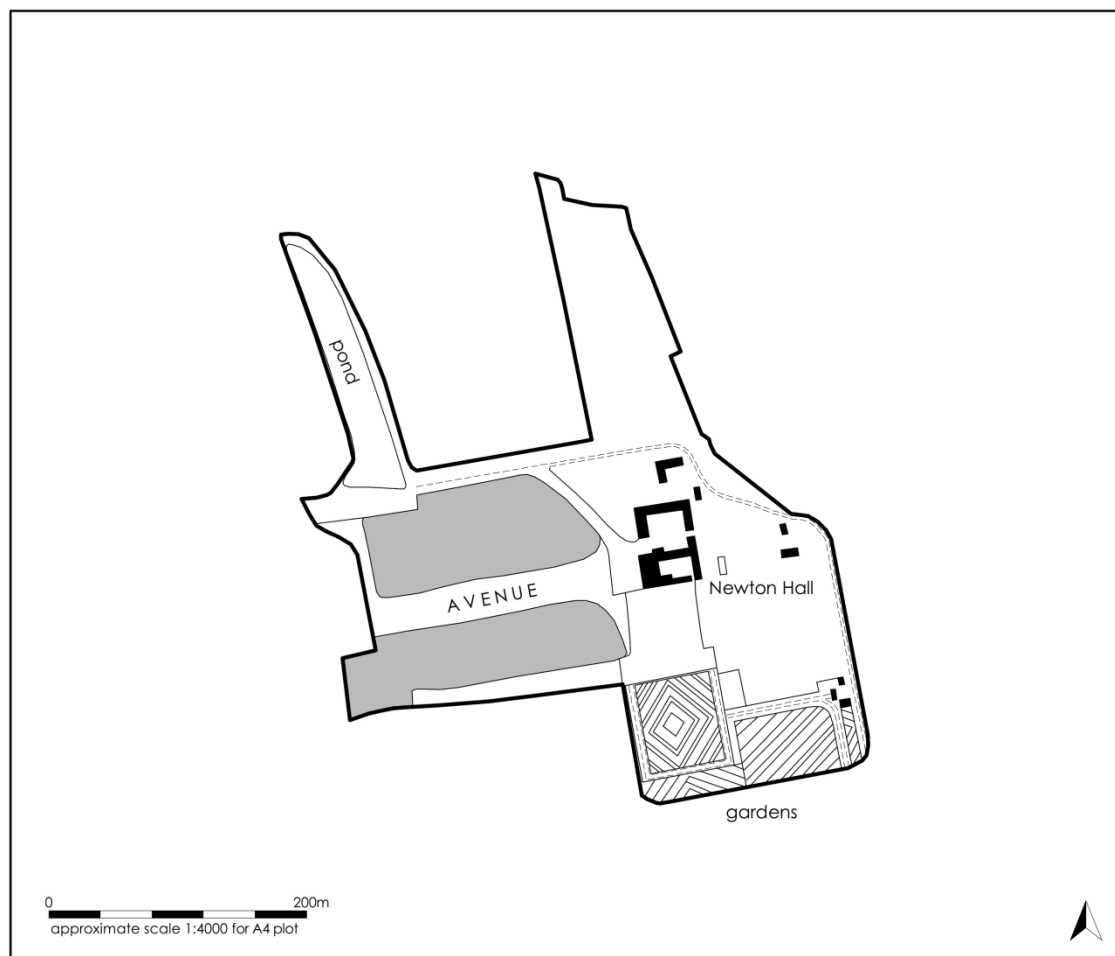


Figure 17: Newton Hall, reconstruction of eighteenth century estate
Produced in partnership with Archaeological Services, University of Durham

Newton Hall borrowed much from this ethos, as can be seen in its approach from the west (Figure 17). If the underlying mission of both estates was to inspire a sense of tranquility alongside sheer command of the landscape, Liddell executed this with mindful precision. His understanding of the roles of access, approach, and presence is clear and was almost surely influenced by the existing houses of landed gentry, where the approach to the “Big House” (Vlach 1993) was meant to instill an appreciation and respect for the family’s role in society. While similarities between the actual houses at Newton Hall and Ravensworth Castle are discussed in Chapter VI, particularly relating to their specific impacts on spectators and guests, the intended paths of access to the buildings are fundamentally matters of landscape design. This discussion of arrangement and access can shed a degree of light on the overall aspirations for the estates, where the differing reactions and impressions of visitors can be reasonably assumed. Where Ravensworth’s landscape was interconnected with the industry fueling its success (and vice versa), that of Newton Hall served the purpose of connecting the family to the political and religious centre of the County Palatine while still maintaining an exclusivity and omniscience over such matters. As compared with the Bowes family’s townhouses in the city centre, which are discussed in

Chapter VI, the Liddells (and specifically the 3rd Bt) chose to position themselves just outside the immediate bounds of city affairs yet visibly present in the wider landscape of Durham City.

By building in these strategic locations, the 3rd Bt ensured a lasting and seemingly historical presence in the areas where his interests were greatest. These were the physical realisations of a desire and perhaps necessity to showcase an authoritative yet participatory relationship with the places he felt were most integral to long-term success. Each aspect of business needed to be attended to, and understanding this, Liddell made it clear that his presence would be felt even if he himself was absent. Ravensworth Castle would always be the base of operations: the "eternal" seat and backbone of the family for generations to follow. No.13 St. James's Square would be the family's stamp on the political landscape, as well as his seat at the tables of England's most élite gentlemen, while Eslington Park would provide a further exclusivity in its removal from the industrial centre of the Tyne Valley.

Newton Hall can thus be understood as a sort of middling ground. The estate stood omniscient above the Cathedral peninsula and would have overlooked the vast coalfields that surrounded the ancient city. Where Ravensworth was inherently exclusive, situated within the industrial landscape of the Tyne Valley yet secluded by its forest and earthworks boundaries (archaeological evidence for this has been addressed above), Newton Hall was all the more involved with its surrounding landscape. The hall itself would have been visible from the city below, and while no doubt a product of fine architectural vision, it was certainly the more modest of the four. This is not to say that any less attention went towards the design of the hall and its grounds; rather, Newton is fundamentally a subsidiary of the main estate at Ravensworth, meant to suggest an outstretched arm that would remind the onlooker of the Liddell family's regional influence.

Gibside and the Articulated Landscape Narrative

As an English estate landscape of primarily eighteenth century design, Ravensworth Castle makes use of surprisingly few of the components typical of prevailing contemporary styles. As compared to estates such as Chatsworth, Castle Howard, and Stowe, it features no follies nor tree-lined avenues. There is no cascading water feature; in fact, there are no real attempts at innovative engineering for aesthetic purposes. In this sense, Ravensworth could never truly be characterised as a "complete" Georgian achievement. It is by no means unique in this sense, where the majority of English estates of this period borrowed certain elements from an overarching architectural language, and as has been addressed, the Georgian style of building (that is, belonging to the long eighteenth century and employing an adapted classical language) may well be characterised by its diversity despite an ostensibly strict code for reprocessing classical forms in an early modern context. This concept is discussed in detail in Chapter VII in relation to transatlantic architectures of the British.

As outlined in the methodology of this thesis, classification should not be attempted in the first place. Instead of ascribing a specific movement or school of landscape architectural design, Ravensworth should be understood as fundamentally a product of its location, and furthermore as a reflection of the preferences and objectives of its occupiers. That said, the landscape of 1785 as mapped by Fryer, most of which survives in the present day, shows a landscape clearly influenced by a then-contemporary penchant for romanticism, focusing on the ground-level experience of outdoor space.

Within this context, Gibside presents the perfect point of comparison. After removing themselves from the primary historic family seat at Streatlam, the Bowes family constructed what can surely be called the finest example of landscape design in the County Durham. Specifically, Gibside embodies a mid-century ideal for the “Picturesque” landscape where outdoor space is engineered to present a visitors' experience matched only by landscape paintings of the period. In this section, discussion will turn to the design of articulated estate landscape experiences as exemplified at Gibside and applied to understandings of Ravensworth, where the various devices of the estate are presented in a proscribed yet seemingly organic sequence. In both of these examples, such a landscape made use of existing manorial and industrial features, these reengineered to form a new viewer-based appreciation of a historic parkland.

A slew of publications on English gardening emerged in the early part of the eighteenth century, beginning with Timothy Nourse's *Campania Foelix* (1700). Other works include Addison's *Spectator* (1711), which advocated for irregularity and “horrid graces,” Stephen Switzer's *Iconographia Rustica* (1718), and Batty Langley's *New Principles of Gardening* (1728). Each of these called for a new English landscape based on “rude wilderness.” The concept of landscape was a vision of serenity in irregularity: an ideal that required a specialised education and the creative liberty to realise such themes. Someone who experienced a garden such as that at Stourhead was inspired and encouraged to appreciate the subtle beauty of a lonely tree on a hill, the curve of a path, and the gentle placement of a seemingly forgotten ionic temple perched in the distance, to name some examples: a new Arcadia for the Hanoverian country gentleman.

Beginning after approximately 1730, the concept of the English country estate seems to have come into its own as something separate from outside inspiration, though much of this desire for “authenticity” or “rusticity” may have stemmed from early modern impressions of ruined classical landscapes observed while taking the Grand Tour (see Mead 1914 and especially De Bolla 2003:18-19). Naturalism such as this advocated sweeping away the stringent itineraries of country gardens in favour of “unadulterated” wilderness, where the designer sought to construct the viewer's appreciation and experience of the landscape from every vantage point; the viewer became integral to the success of the garden as a participant rather than an observer (O'Malley 1992:286-90).

While the visitor's first impression of Gibside will undoubtedly centre on the Avenue, terminating at the 146-foot Column to British Liberty and James Paine's magnificent Chapel, the surrounding land showcases a far more naturalistic approach to landscape architecture. Walking north from the Chapel, one encounters a spectacular view of a single oak in the middle of a gently sloping field, beyond which stand perhaps a dozen trees grouped close together. These are framed by a hedge to the left and a forest above (see Figure 18). Moving on from this scene, the visitor then encounters a series of wilderness landscapes beginning with a journey into West Wood forest where a number of estate pits and quarries were located (discussed in Chapter III). Following a path wide enough for a carriage or small party of walkers, he or she quickly finds themselves surrounded on both sides by a thick wood. Looking forward and slightly to either side, the forest appears extraordinarily dense, whereas a glance to the immediate right or left will show perfectly spaced rows of trees, planted on a grid and standing approximately two metres apart from one another (judging by satellite photographs and confirmed during perimeter survey, a similar tactic was employed for Ravensworth at High Park Wood). At the close of this portion of the journey, the grand neoclassical stables emerge at the bottom of a small valley, and just a few hundred yards further along is found Daniel Garrett's Banqueting House (c.1746) perched above an octagonal pond. From the front room of this building one enjoys a spectacular linear view, beginning with the pond and moving down the steep incline towards the Derwent. This fish pond lies near the southern corner of Snipes Dean Wood (where Snipes Dean Pit may be found) which features a web of roads leading the visitor through its interior and eventually back to the Avenue.

The estate is home to a seemingly endless number of such vantage points radiating from the central Avenue. This is perhaps the key to Gibside's mission, where the visitor approaches what seems to be untouched wilderness, finds the stately arrangement of architecture and landscape they would expect from an élite family landholding, yet does not distinguish this from the wider "untouched" landscape. Stateliness and wilderness work alongside each other in harmony because the stately architecture and design is not a separate feature. Rather than entering a well-groomed property lying within the natural landscape, the architecture is seemingly informed by the surrounding natural world. The estate is in no way detached from reality; instead, the location of the estate (in this case, a hill overlooking the Derwent) is what inspires an architecture in keeping with the landscape.

In terms of the Ravensworth Estate, the engraving from 1787 sheds quite a bit of light on the intended use and allure of the property (Figure 21). The image is anything but linear, instead showcasing the imperfections of the estate. At this point in its development, the house proper was a *mélange* of differing architectural styles. While the character of the house itself is discussed in Chapters V and VI, the image reveals much about the changing attitudes to landscape on the property. The men in the foreground are in motion, dressed in their country clothing, and running with the dogs. The scene is active, showcasing a change in the way the landscape is meant to be used. Such activity is evident in the design and placement of woodlands, the arrangement of roads and paths within the property, and the

locations of various outbuildings as described above. Rather than the landscape radiating from the house proper, the house is but one element (albeit quite an important element) of the estate as a whole. In these ways, Ravensworth and Gibside share a common mission in creating dynamic, seemingly infinite landscapes within the bounds of their respective property lines.

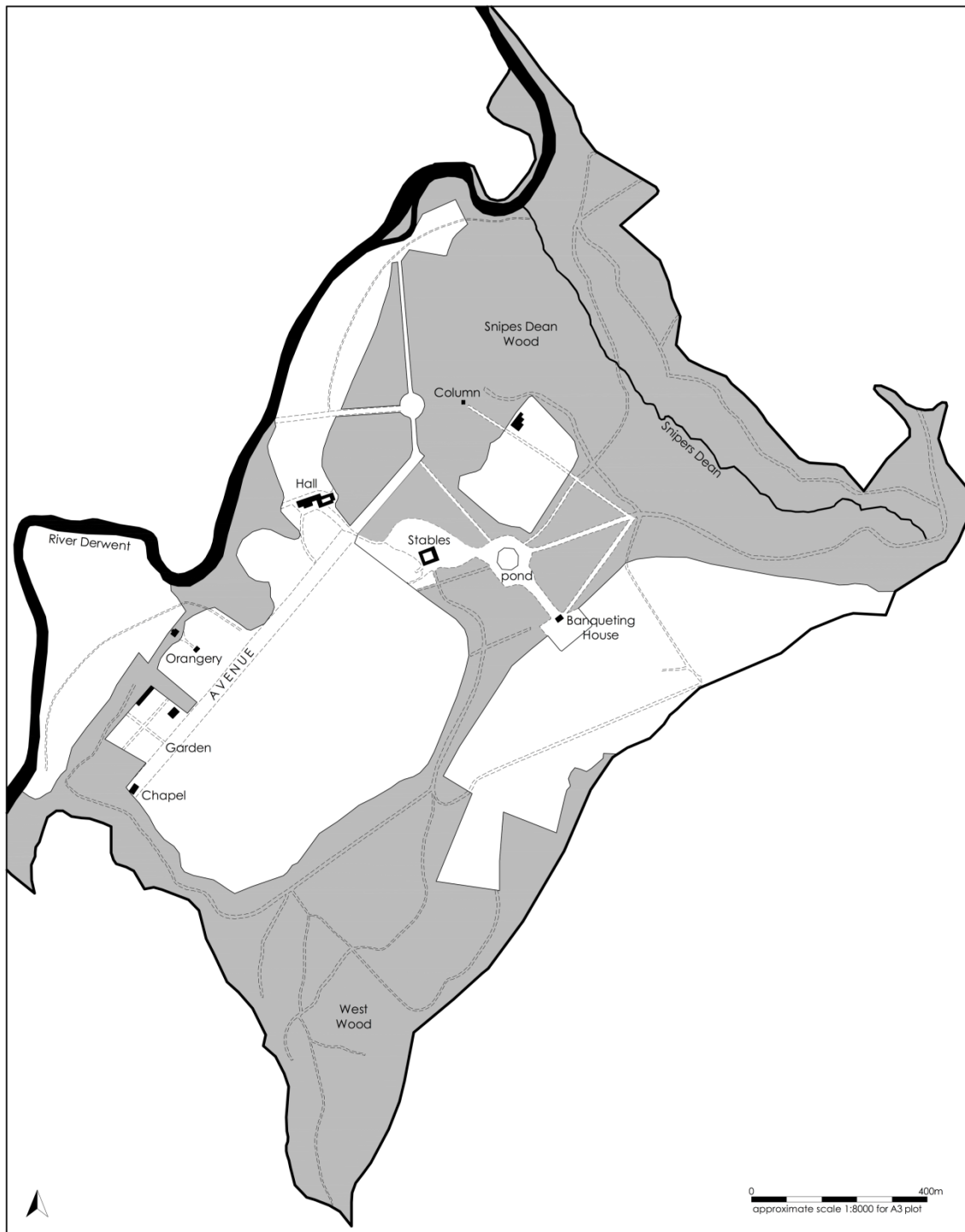


Figure 18: Gibside, reconstruction of eighteenth century estate
Produced in partnership with Archaeological Services, University of Durham

In much the same way as Gibside separates its Avenue from the woodland area of the estate, the roughly two square miles of the Ravensworth property is divided into distinct regions. The southern portion includes the approach from the southwest beginning at API, the cluster of trees with supposed banqueting house enclosed within, the Avenue, the forest(s) at the western edge (including the North and South Stotts Pastures and the southern portion of High Park Wood), and the open fields lying in between. Using the first edition Ordnance Survey map, which includes both Ravensworth and Gibside, it is clear that Gibside's arrangement of the open field surrounded on all sides by thick woodland areas is echoed at the Ravensworth estate at the opposite end of the map. These well-manicured cores form the nuclei of the estates with all excursions branching outwards from the centre, though perhaps more importantly, these should be understood as affording uninterrupted views of parkland from the houses themselves. The sheer extent of the landscape may be appreciated here; in Ravensworth's case, there is nearly a half mile of open parkland between the house proper and the southern edge of the estate, dotted with single and grouped trees in much the same style as described above in relation to Gibside.

The middle portion includes the roads from AP3 and AP7, the house proper, the open area west of the house, and the northern portion of High Park Wood and may be compared with the area including and immediately surrounding Gibside's Avenue. At both sites, here are found the formal houses and associated outbuildings as well as the more formal walkways and gardens, though Gibside differs from Ravensworth in this area with the Avenue dominating this portion of the estate. Ravensworth's landscape is far less linear, though the core of the estate remains the most formal portion and in this sense the two are comparable. The remainder of the estate, the northern portion, includes the aforementioned journey from AP4, the associated outbuildings along this route, Hill Head Wood, Cox Close Wood, and the northernmost plot at Fuger Field Wood. This portion of the estate may be understood in comparison with the Snipes Dean Wood portion of Gibside where the visitor is greeted by a network of roads and trails weaving throughout the interior of the parkland. The experience here is one of seclusion and appreciation of the vast expanse of the property while at the same time highlighting the industrial component to the estate (Snipes Dean Pit). This portion of the Ravensworth Estate was home to The Trench, where the visitor could observe the active industrial functionality of the estate (discussed further below, in relation to Lumley Castle).

In subdividing the estate into areas with distinct ordered, picturesque, wooded, and open qualities and showcasing these various features of in seemingly fluid sequence, Gibside achieves what may be characterised as a dynamic landscape. The visitor is presented with each element of the estate and encouraged to appreciate their diversity while at the same time being continually reminded of their being linked to a common agenda (that is, the agenda of the landowner). Coal plays a part in the landscape but is by no means the defining feature; rather, coal is featured as part of the sequence of narrative components which may be appreciated by each visitor in his or her own way (though these individualistic impressions are in fact the result of careful planning on the part of the landscape designer

and his patron). The Ravensworth Estate showcases its relationship with and role within the coal industry to a greater degree than Gibside. That said, Gibside is perhaps the best local analogy for Ravensworth's character as a contained, microcosmic, processional, and participatory landscape park which was designed (or redefined) to be visited by the gentry class of fellow landholders, including the Liddells of Ravensworth Castle. While no documentary evidence for visitation of the estate by the Liddells exists or survives in the archives, the meetings of the Grand Allies held at Ravensworth from the early years of the agreement (Oldroyd 1996:11-12) indicate a supportive and cooperative relationship between signers, using the industrial and narrative aesthetics of their respective estates as the settings for formal discussions of the social, political, and mercantile directions of their families and the region.

Lumley Castle and the Northern Industrial Landscape

The narrative of this chapter as well as the Ravensworth Estate itself begins from the baseline of the medieval fortified estate and finishes with the industrial epicentre of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As such, the final section of this chapter is devoted to a comparative look at Lumley Castle whose industrial character is perhaps the closest local parallel to Ravensworth. The history of County Durham is intimately connected with the development of the coal industry, and it was this industry and its players that drove the region towards economic power and played the major role in creating its unique landscape. It can reasonably be argued that coal and its associated industry were the single greatest influence on the early modern and modern northern landscape, taking into account everything from the arrangement of settlements to relationships with water. The very idea of a coal baron and his approach to landscape design were the consequence of pride and participation in the industrial character of the region. In fact, this thesis offers the position that estate design among industry men was as much a reaction to as an inspiration for a northern ideal for living: a statement of wealth which proudly presented its own genesis story.

In this section, the idea of an industrial estate landscape shall be explored by comparison with one of Ravensworth's closest neighbours, Lumley Castle. Both of these estates were descended from medieval deer parks, both retained the medieval characters of their great houses, and in both cases, the evolution of the area's industrial base dictated an approach to design that blended historical precedent with a respect for and pride in their vision for the future. Following a brief historical background for the site, discussion shall focus on Lumley's relationship with the coal industry as reflected in the layout of its landscape and interpretations of such. Owing to the aforementioned synonymy with Ravensworth where both estates have retained much of their eighteenth century characters, field visits to Lumley provide perhaps the best point of comparison for interpreting the experience of Ravensworth as an estate designed and adapted to serve and showcase the industry which fuelled its early modern development. In the context of this thesis, Lumley should be understood as a primary point of comparison from which conclusions about the relationship between the coal owner, colliery, pitman,

and estate landscape may be drawn. For Lumley, Ravensworth, and as well at Gibside, the presence of mine working within the parkland was a statement of wealth just as emphatic as retaining the medieval structures which gave name to the estates.

Lumley lies at the centre of a large estate roughly one mile southwest of Chester-le-Street on the eastern side of the River Wear and retains its character as a medieval deer park even in the present day. The first mention of a landscape park here is in Staxton's survey of 1576 (Shirley 1867:227; Leland's *Itinerary* only makes mention of the "praty wood" surrounding the castle; 1907:74) but the shape of the space suggests an earlier date (see section on Ravensworth's medieval deer park, where Lumley is compared). By the late seventeenth century, it is estimated that the estate was roughly 1,500 acres in size (Beastall 1974:15). According to English Heritage's report on the site, a series of improvements were carried out in the eighteenth century under the direction of a number of consultants, beginning in 1701 with George London (d.1714) (Green 1956:44), next with Vanbrugh who was called to design a scheme of courts and gardens in 1721, and then in 1729 when Stephen Switzer spent time at Lumley while writing *An Introduction to a System of Hydraulics and Hydrostatics*, likely providing some input on the proposed improvements. The English Heritage report also confirms the existence of three unsigned and undated landscaping proposals that can be stylistically attributed to the early eighteenth century, two of which seem to be the work of Charles Bridgeman (d.1738) (Historic England Site Report No. 1001395).

This landscape of the early eighteenth century is captured in Bucks' 1728 view of the estate (taken from the same publication as the 1728 view of Ravensworth Castle) and apparently shared a great deal of similarity with the contemporary Ravensworth Estate. The approach is comparable to that at Ravensworth (API annotated on 1785 estate map) where it leads the visitor on a winding route through the interior of the parkland and eventually terminates at the house proper. The landscape seen from this southwest angle shows a parkland subdivided into rectangular sections leading down a slope to the River Wear. The portion of the estate immediately abutting the house proper has a strong correlation with Ravensworth, where the circular path enclosed within a rectangular walled area mirrors that seen in the 1773 etching of Ravensworth by Grimm (Figure 28), including the tree-lined area abutting this rectangle, though at Lumley this appears to have extended forth as an avenue of sorts (these elements were modified in the 1770s as shown in the landscape designer Thomas White's 1768 design for the park; see Turnbull 1990:169). One may also appreciate the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century character of modifications to the exterior of the castle, particularly the double staircase leading to the principal entrance and the inclusion of an opening with Gibbs surrounds on the southeast face (architectural considerations are discussed in further detail in Chapter VI). Thomas Hearne's 1779 view of Lumley also has strong parallels with Ravensworth, particularly the 1787 view (Figure 21), though this image is less diagnostic than Bucks'.

Beyond the evolution of the park's aesthetic design, Lumley Castle was an estate directly influenced by and celebratory of its relationship with coal extraction and the coal trade in general. Writing in 1727, Defoe describes the estate such:

“The Park, besides the pleasantness of it, has this much better thing to recommend it, namely, that that it is full of excellent Veins of the best Coal in the Country, (for the Lumley Coal are known for their Goodness at London, as well as there). This, with the navigable River just at hand, by which the Coals are carried down to Sunderland to the Ships, makes Lumley Park an inexhaustible Treasure to the Family” (Defoe 1727:190).

Where Ravensworth Ann colliery was the most productive of the Team Valley region, and by the end of the seventeenth century may well have been able to compete with those in Whickham for most productive of the greater Tyne region, coal being moved on the River Wear was overwhelmingly the product of Lumley colliery. Mines at Lumley park (located less than 2.5km from the house proper, 54° 50' 57" N, 1° 31' 7" W; shown in Figure 20) were described in 1676 as “the greatest in the north and produc[ing] the best coal” (Chief Justice Francis North, quoted in Browning 1996:446).

Extraction of coal is recorded at Lumley from the early fifteenth century and was operated by monks at Finchale Priory (likely a major supplier well before the Civil War; Nef 1966:29). The landowner himself (Lumley, Earls of Scarbrough from 1690) does not appear to have had a direct interest in the coal industry until the latter part of the seventeenth century (DRO NCB 24/117). From the late seventeenth century to the 1720s, most of this coal was extracted from four pits which worked most of the time, and in 1727 three new pits were sunk at Newbottle. By the close of the eighteenth century, six seams were being worked on the site (“5 ¼,” 240 feet below the surface, three feet nine inches thick, and thought to lie under around 800 acres of the estate; below this lay “Top Main,” then “Maudlin,” then “Low main,” then “Brass Hill,” then “Hutton” or “Lowest Bottom Coal,” approximately 550 feet below the surface; Beastall 1974:15)

In the same manner as Ravensworth's close access to the Team waggonways which fed directly to the Tyne staiths meant more coal could be moved faster and cheaper at other locations, particularly after the Ravensworth Engine was constructed, Lumley's proximity to the River Wear and construction of a waterwheel in the 1680s (described by Roger North following a tour c.1680-84; cited in Clavering 1995:223) meant coal from here could dominate the market in Sunderland (though apparently lacking in quality in comparison with that extracted from neighbouring pits, Lumley coal cost in some cases 4 to 5d. less per waggon to convey to the water). Such operations could be directly supervised by the landowner (as at Ravensworth). While industrial activity slowed during the period from the 1740s to the 1760s, likely related to the Earl of Scarbrough's inheriting estates in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (coal earnings were thus but a fraction of the Earl's combined inheritances; Beastall 1974:25), mining interests gained traction in the 1770s with the sinking of several new pits and new wayleaves and staiths created to increase efficiency from Lumley to the Wear (1776: pits sunk to Low Main and Hutton seam; Durham

Mining Museum 2015b). At least five pits were sunk by the turn of the nineteenth century (5th pit opened 9 November 1791; Durham Mining Museum 2015b) but by this time the colliery had been sold to the Lambton family (sold in the 1780s; Beastall 1974:28).

While the colliery was owned by the Lumley family, a service road was built from the eastern banks of the River Wear to a village to the southwest near to the colliery, passing directly through the middle of the estate. The turnpike is visible in Gibson's 1788 plan (Figure 19) and is most likely that shown running from Lumley colliery along the western bank of the Lumley Burn past the house proper and crossing the Burn at Hag Bridge (Figure 20). Added to this route were at least a half dozen other waggonways leading nearby or directly through the estate, the most prominent being the route which runs through the centre of Broad Wood (marked on this map as "F. P.") to join the primary waggonway on the eastern bank of the Wear. Taken together, these waggonways would have featured prominently in the landscape of Lumley Park, perhaps even more so than those at Ravensworth (Ravensworth "Old Way" and The Trench being the best points of comparison). Furthermore, it is recorded that agents dealing with operations at the colliery were leased rooms in the castle itself (Beastall 1974:34).



Figure 19: Detail of *Plan of the Collieries on the Rivers Tyne and Wear*, showing Lumley Castle
John Gibson 1788 (DUL NSR Planfile C 22/5)



Figure 20: Lumley Castle, reconstruction of eighteenth century estate
Produced in partnership with Archaeological Services, University of Durham

All of these points considered, it is simple to imagine an estate consumed almost entirely by its industrial ventures. Lumley was an industrial estate in the truest sense of the phrase and is perhaps the best example with which to illustrate the social and spatial dynamics of the concept. With the major wagonway leading directly through the scenic parkland, residents and visitors alike would have been confronted with the workings and transport of raw materials on a daily basis. While social stratification was certainly strong within this industry, Green asserts that the landscape may be better “characterised

by visible inter-relationships rather than blind polarities,” where pitmen were not a race apart but rather stood in “guarded proximity” (Green 2010:139; see also Smailes 1938 and Sill 1984). For the pitmen themselves, working at Lumley Colliery would have meant encountering the physical reflections of capital brought about by their labour, where painstaking extraction of the earth below had a direct relationship with the aesthetic and functional character of the estate above. This concept is explored further in Chapter VII in comparison with the experiences and housing of enslaved Africans in the colonial Chesapeake region.

Owners of these estates saw the gritty reality of coal extraction and transport as a point of pride. Though the estate and its castle had been in the possession of the family for far longer than the Liddells had held their estate in Lamesley, Lumley and Ravensworth share an almost identical narrative from the beginning of the seventeenth century through to the beginning of the twentieth. Here the fourteenth century quadrangular castle has remained (where that at Ravensworth was less fortunate due to subsidence issues) and the shape of its associated deer park turned industrial epicentre preserved into the twenty-first century (coal extraction officially ceased in January of 1966; Durham Mining Museum 2015b). If any recommendation for the presentation and/or restoration of the estate’s historic landscape is to be made, such a project should look first to Lumley Castle to establish comparatively what was the basal component of Ravensworth’s early modern landscape and the foundation upon which all subsequent developments were predicated.

Conclusions

Mingay estimates that there were roughly four hundred families who could be described as “great landlords” during the eighteenth century (Mingay 1970:20). Since the average great landlord would have had to spend approximately £10,000 per annum in order to maintain a large estate, and between ten and twenty thousand acres would have been needed to raise this level of capital on a yearly basis, Turner estimates that the land owned by these four hundred wealthiest families in the nation amounted to roughly one fifth of the cultivated land in Britain (Turner 1984:492). As such, it is possible to reconstruct a landscape in which the landed gentry hold a constant physical reminder to all others that the fate and extent of the nation’s prosperity is essentially in their hands. What is most interesting about this phenomenon, however, is its status as an essentially open market. As the advantage of landholding was on the increase, so too was the industrial/mercantile culture of eighteenth century Britain. Though it would have required an enormous amount of initial capital (not to mention the cost of sustaining), a place among the upper echelons of society was available to anyone who could afford or be fortunate enough to marry into it. What resulted in the late seventeenth century was a massive influx of industrial capitalists entering the élite classes of British society (see Wallerstein 1974:309-11) with timber, iron, lead, and coal providing the gateway to sustainable perceptions of success. These mercantile capitalists would have been primary customers of landscape designers: industry men bent on building and promoting the perception of an age-old supremacy.

For the Liddells and their contemporaries, commissioning the construction or improvement of an estate served a dual purpose. Breaking from the regimented garden schemes fashionable in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this new class of mercantile landholders emerged at a moment when the classical ideal was infused with a Picturesque notion of organic outdoor experiences. The highly personal and in many respects seemingly random experience of landscape overtook an earlier idea of omniscient appreciation. In the cases of Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt and his successor the 1st Baron, the move to a more Picturesque interpretation of the estate landscape was perhaps the natural response since this idea of “unadulterated” wilderness stood in such stark contrast to the landscapes which supplied them with their great fortune. That said, the Liddells’ primary estate at Ravensworth was one which saw certain aspects of industrial infrastructure as deserving of a prominent place within the estate landscape. In this sense, the Liddell family achieved an estate fit to be of the *élite* 400 by retaining the medieval and industrial components of the parkland as necessary elements of the estate’s story which could only serve to bolster the visitor or onlooker’s perception of sociopolitical, economic, and historical worth.

As at all of the estates considered in this chapter, Ravensworth’s landscape was meant to be appreciated in an orchestrated fashion with each of its elements supporting a progressive experience for visitors and the family alike. At Gibside, George Bowes manipulated the natural topography of his estate to produce the best possible views of and from its various structural features while also bolstering the sensory experience of the routes between these features. At Lumley, the visitor was presented with a window onto the source of the family’s social and economic influence. At Seaton Delaval, the experience of the estate was unforgivingly bounded at the perimeter of its bastioned walls leaving the visitor with a sense of protection and/or isolation within the wider landscape of the North Sea coast as well as a respect for the “antiquity” of the estate. At Streatlam, features of eighteenth century landscape design were employed to highlight a medieval origin story. Each of these landscape devices is found to enhance and distinguish the sloping parkland of the Ravensworth Estate, emphasising the distinct phases of its eight-hundred-year history and presenting these to the visitor as part of a cumulative estate landscape. With this context established, the architectural development of the estate as explored in Chapter V may be better appreciated within its local and regional circumstances and, in the chapters to follow, interpretations of the estate as a whole (i.e. the house and landscape treated as a single entity) are further enriched by considerations of mercantile estate culture in general.

CHAPTER V

The Architecture of the Baronets Ravensworth

"The principal source of grandeur in architecture is association, by which [...] columns suggest ideas of strength and durability, and the whole structure introduces [...] ideas of the riches and magnificence of the owner."
Alexander Gérard, 1759

The Creation of Legacy through Architecture

One primary aim of this thesis is to address social mobility during the long eighteenth century as reflected in building and landscape architecture. This so-called "gentry question" (Johnson 1996:152) seeks to examine the ways in which a system of aspirational behaviours translated to houses and landscape at a level of society just barely subsidiary to the highest levels of the social élite. Especially by end of the long eighteenth century, "catalogues" of the latest developments in architecture were distributed and available to view by an ever broadening audience of mercantile fortune holders (discussed further in Chapter VII). Though the practice of high architectural and/or artistic patronage was still exclusively the domain of the eminently wealthy classes, this now included a growing number of "new gentry" (see Beckett 1977, Stone & Stone 1984, Tomaney 1999, and especially Everitt 1966), equating to an explosion of change in the character of the English rural landscape.

For the Liddells, the motivation behind owning an estate in keeping with the contemporary aesthetic language was not *entrée* but *rapport*. By the 1720s and the signing of the Grand Alliance (discussed in Chapter II), coal magnates had held the market for long enough to devote significant energy towards self-promotion. The Alliance itself describes collieries and wayleaves as family holdings, implying longstanding ownership (DRO D/CG 16/1078). This in turn led to a culture of competition among

families, particularly between the Liddells of Ravensworth and the Bowes of Streatlam, whose architectural ventures extended from improving their "historic" family seats to diversifying their landholdings to include multiple properties in strategic locations (see in particular Levine and Wrightson 1991). While the Bowes had already been established as landowning local gentry with medieval roots by the time the Liddells owned their first country estate (c.1607), the comparative histories of the two families were from thenceforth intimately connected in their goals and means for achieving such (see James 1974). These achievements were reflected in architectural ambitions, where using grand architecture and landscape design was both a crucial tool in defining legacy and an evolving reflection of the families' prosperities.

Beyond illustrating the competitive quality of these architectural histories, and indeed rewriting the architectural histories themselves, this chapter and the chapter to follow will highlight the accelerated building campaigns of the period c.1715-30 and attempt to explain their precedents and resulting effects. While much is known about the Liddells' nineteenth century house designed by John Nash and built c.1808-1846, largely due to the house's esteemed place within greater British architectural history as an excellent early example of Gothic Revival (Summerson 1980:45-7) and the availability of photographs, this grand building project would not have been possible nor conceived of were it not for the earlier creation of a family urge towards architectural redefinition. Conversely, the boom in building campaigns following the Civil War (c.1670-1720 in northern England; Machin 1977:34) created an architectural climate that would influence the way in which new capital was spent following the Jacobite Rebellion. For many Whig, non-Catholic families in the region (including the Liddells), the after-effects of "The Fifteen" meant an influx of available properties which had been sequestered and sold by the Crown (e.g. the Liddells' third estate at Eslington Park, formerly the seat of the Collingwood family; Whellan 1855:668; see also Linker 1966). In this manner, the competitive nature of élite housing culture in general may be discussed as a reflection of its surrounding social, political, and economic environment.

Though awareness of trending styles expanded alongside the necessary funds to translate inspiration to stone and earth, the central question was one of taste. This related particularly to Whiggism where criticism of artistic ventures was more often than not a reflection of opposing political affiliations (see especially Erskine-Hill 1982, Langford 1992:12-15, and discussions of Whiggism in Chapter III). Johnson (2014:166) draws specific attention to an excerpt from Pope's "Epistle to Lord Burlington" (1731; see discussion of Burlingtonian connections and influences in Yorkshire and Durham in the previous chapter) in which he declares that Burlington's publications on architecture would

Fill half the land with Imitating Fools,
Who random Drawings from your Sheets shall take,
And of one Beauty many Blunders make;
Load some vain Church with old Theatric State;
Turn Arcs of Triumph to a Garden-gate;

Reverse your Ornaments, and hang them all
On some patch'd Doghole ek'd with Ends of Wall,
Then clap four slices of Pilaster on't,
and lac'd with bits of Rustic, 'tis a Front...
Conscious they act a true Palladian part,
And if they starve, they starve by Rules of Art.

The Liddell family came into possession of the castle at Ravensworth at the same time that they and other coal-owning families of the Company of Hostmen began to feel the tremendous rewards of this industry. The purchasing of a medieval estate parkland with its associated castle was a crucial investment of this newly-acquired capital where social display on the part of established gentry (see Coss & Keen 2002 for the medieval precedents to this early modern concept) was a necessary behaviour if any true recognition and respect from this élite class was to be gained (see James 1974 in particular). By the turn of the eighteenth century, the Baronets Ravensworth had held such a share of the coal market in the North East, controlling nearly all collieries and wayleaves in the parish of Whickham and Farneacres from the 1670s (DRO D/CG 16/582, 585), including those within the townships of Ravensworth, Lamesley, Eighton, and Kibblesworth by the time the Alliance was signed (DRO D/CG 16/1077, 1078; see Levine and Wrightson 1991), that reinventing or “improving” the estate in the Palladian style was a logical sociopolitical action.

This chapter will focus on the architectural history of the Liddell family's primary seat at Ravensworth Castle c.1607 to c.1808. The chapter is divided into key phases in the development of the complex (from single post-Conquest tower through to early nineteenth century Gothic Revival mansion house) in an effort to present the Ravensworth of the eighteenth century as an amalgamation of these periods in the same manner as that of the landscape history outlined in the previous chapter. Medieval points of comparison are discussed here to provide context to the architectural developments of the long eighteenth century (the primary focus of this thesis). The chapter will also focus on specific characters in the historical narrative of the estate and present their architectural decisions and processes of design, paying particular attention to the distinctions between the 3rd and 4th Baronets (i.e. the “divergent” Palladian and Gothic agendas for the estate) especially as they relate to a wider discussion of the concurrence of styles (see especially Clark 1962). These will then be compared and contextualized in the chapter to follow as they relate to relevant contemporary structures within the local and wider climates of the North East, Britain, and Europe in general. Finally, it is the goal of this chapter to address the need for archaeological fieldwork at Ravensworth Castle and highlight elements which may, and should, be explored in greater detail.

In this manner, Chapters V and VI may be taken together as the core of this thesis where interpretations garnered from illuminations of the heretofore ill-defined evolution of Ravensworth and comparisons with the remaining Liddell estates and other relevant contemporaries may combine to illustrate the practices of diversifying landholdings and establishing site-specific objectives. Though no

geophysical survey was possible during the researching of this thesis due to access restrictions on the part of the current property owners, as discussed in Chapter II, Chapter VI builds upon interpretations offered in the present chapter, explores wider regional and national themes, and discusses their implications which in turn contribute to a holistic understanding of estate culture in the North East beyond what a more diagnostic, site-specific archaeological assessment may provide alone. These interpretations are then considered alongside conclusions drawn in Chapter IV in comparison with plantation sites in the British colonial Chesapeake region (Chapter VII) to offer interpretations about early modern industrial estate culture in general, all of which serve to further understanding of the principal site at Ravensworth.

The Medieval Castle

From its earliest incarnation, Ravensworth has been and remained the site of a fortified castle atop a hill overlooking the Team Valley. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, traffic moving northwards to Newcastle upon Tyne would have been greeted by the structure standing on a steeply sloping hill just to the west of the main road. For the majority of its existence as an estate, this view would have been of a quadrangular castle of fourteenth century form with five two-storey towers joined together by curtain walls to form a rectangle. Two of these towers, the north east and southeast, survive in the present day and have been designated with Grade II* listings (MLN 1025151 and 1025190). The remaining three were lost in the first half of the nineteenth century during the structure's near complete demolition c.1808-1846. According to John Bailey's 1787 engraving of the house (Figure 21), the two northwest towers were square like their eastern counterparts while the fifth tower at the southwest corner appears to have been octagonal in plan. While not much more can be said of these western towers without subsurface archaeological investigation (even this may not prove fruitful, as the nineteenth century rebuilding entirely superseded this portion of the structure), the surviving two towers illuminate much of what was the character of this structure through to the nineteenth century rebuilding and their retention amidst this architectural overhaul illustrates a lasting site identity.

The sequence of tenancy at Ravensworth has been addressed in the previous chapter but is reproduced here to again provide context to the developing estate (in this case for its architectural evolution). While the 2014 report from Northern Archaeological Associates makes some case for there having been an Iron Age or Roman settlement on the site (see Figure 11, where a rectilinear enclosure is discernible south of the castle, though this may be an early modern feature; NZ 23199 58998, T&V HER 339), documentary records of the site of the Ravensworth Estate do not appear until in the late eleventh century when Symeon of Durham records that an Eadulf from Ravensworth supposedly "rose from the dead to predict the death of Bishop Walcher" (Surtees 1820:2). The estate is mentioned again in the early twelfth century when Bishop Rannulf Flambard grants lands in "Hectona, Raueneswrthe, and Blaikeston" to his nephew Richard. The estate next passed to Robert de Yealand in June of 1223, granted by Bishop Marsh (1229-37) (Bell 1939:46, CoD 22), and from this point forwards its name

appears more frequently in the documentary record, passing in ownership from Yeland to the Fitz-Marmaduke family in the early fourteenth century. The Fitz-Marmadukes are mentioned in quitclaims from Roger de Yeland c.1290-99 (Bell 1939:52, CoDs 21, 22, 28) and in another quitclaim c.1315-18 by Richard Fitz-Marmaduke using the title of 'steward of the hall of Ravenshelm' (Bell 1939, CoD 33). While no archaeological evidence of a hall prior to that surviving above-ground has been found to date, geophysical survey of the area would certainly shed light on this earlier occupation of the site.



Figure 21: Ravensworth Castle, 1787. Engraved by John Bailey. Hutchinson 1787, plate facing 417

The architectural history of the Ravensworth Estate essentially begins in the early fourteenth century with the construction of its oldest surviving element, the north tower. From 1318 the estate was held by the Lumley family who had come into ownership following the death without issue of Richard Fitz-Marmaduke in that year. Ravensworth passed to his sister Mary who had married Robert de Lumley (d.1308). As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is unclear whether the surviving buildings (namely the north tower) existed on the site prior to the Lumley tenure. Archaeological assessment of the building fabric would suggest an early fourteenth century construction (Middleton 2014:82) which could be associated with either the Fitz-Marmaduke or Lumley occupations and any distinction between these two is not necessary for the purposes of this discussion.

Of the two surviving medieval towers on the estate, the north tower is of an earlier period of construction. The tower stands approximately 11m tall and is constructed of roughly coursed sandstone rubble with square blocks used in clasping buttresses and around the various openings. The features are predominantly Early English in combination with some Decorated Gothic elements (these are modern

terms based largely on the work of Edmund Sharpe (1871) and are useful here to differentiate between closely-related stylistic movements), and the NAA report suggests that this may date the structure to the period of transition between these two styles (i.e. the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth century). Owing to the arrangement of windows, the structure was likely a solar tower in this early period yet its north and east facing elevations are notably blank as compared to the remaining two, with only a few small openings (the north and east faces would have been the original outward-facing walls of the quadrangular castle that developed from this initially isolated tower). This may suggest that the faces were modified once other towers were constructed and joined to the north tower, though this is unclear in the archaeological report (Middleton 2014:38). In any case, the north tower is decidedly more defensive than its southern counterpart as will be made clear in their comparison (see Johnson 2002 where this transition from defensive to aesthetic is discussed).



Figure 22: The East View of Ravensworth Castle, in the Bishoprick of Durham, 1728. Engraved by Samuel Buck

The north tower also shows evidence for a formerly abutting building of some sort, presumably a hall (Middleton 2015, personal correspondence). This is in keeping for the region where towers would more often have had an abutting timber or stone hall (see Ryder's work in Northumberland, particularly at Morpeth Castle where the rarity of free-standing towers is demonstrated; Ryder 1992). While it is unclear if this building predated the tower or if the structure was still standing when the castle was extended to form a quadrangular arrangement in the later part of the fourteenth century, the NAA report suggests that both of these scenarios are likely (Middleton 2014:71). Bucks' view of Ravensworth Castle c.1728 (Figure 22) shows a long stone building extending westwards from the north tower, and although not overly detailed, the image clearly depicts two doors and a chimney in this part of the complex. The NAA report does not clarify whether this structure as seen in 1728 was the one which left evidence on the north tower's west front. Since the area was not built over during later building

campaigns, geophysical survey would likely prove useful in this context since wall thicknesses would shed light on the approximate date of construction for the feature.

The most notable difference between the north and south towers is the degree and character of fenestration. The south tower features numerous garderobes and large windows, and these openings are splayed with window seats in the east wall and would have offered splendid views of the Tyne Valley yet are useless for defensive purposes (Middleton 2014:55). The walls of the tower are on average only 0.6m thick as compared to 1.2m thick (and thicker on the south side) for the north tower. The second storey room in the south tower is an impressive bed chamber with barrel-vaulted ceiling and a large fireplace. Furthermore, two small, shallow bowls are visible inside the south tower; these could have been urinals as the basins drain out through the exterior wall (Middleton 2014:41). In any case, the features illustrate the degree of sophistication in the design of the tower.

Judging by these features and its architectural character as relative to the north tower, construction of the south tower can be placed in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. At this same stage in the structure's development, a curtain wall was built connecting the north and south tower to each other and to three additional towers further west, forming a quadrangular castle. These are clearly visible in both the 1787 and 1728 views (Figures 21 and 22). The curtain walls themselves were largely rebuilt in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century yet the surviving original portions of the walls show multiple arrow loops and slits. According to the NAA assessment, the placement of these openings would have provided adequate coverage for the areas along the walls and into the courtyard but would not have been sufficient in defending the structure during a large-scale siege (Middleton 2014:42).

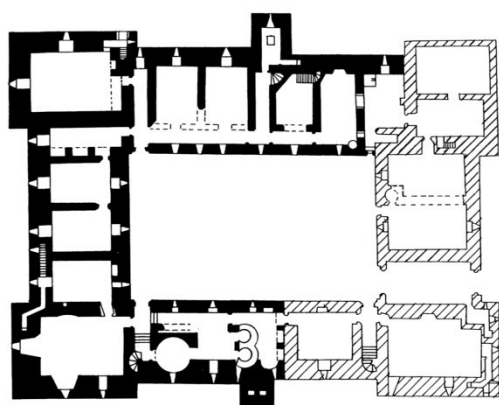


Figure 23: Plan of Bolton Castle (Faulkner 1963)
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By the turn of the fifteenth century, Ravensworth Castle was a quadrangular structure with towers of at least two storeys and either curtain walls or additional single-storey structures connecting the four corners. This form of structure was not at all unusual in the region during the period in question (e.g. Lumley Castle, Chester-le-Street). With increased demand for permanent residence within castles and defense of such buildings becoming more ordered and regular, domestic affairs were concentrated into smaller spaces (Faulkner 1963:221). The fourteenth century solution

to these issues was a castle quadrangular in form where the corner towers (and occasionally dividing the curtain walls) provided space for living, working, and defending alike, producing “an integrated plan which solve[d] the domestic and military problem in a single architectural conception” (Faulkner 1963:235).

Thirteenth and fourteenth century northern castle design can be divided into regional schools (i.e. Durham, North Yorkshire, East Yorkshire, and Northumberland; Hislop 1998). Buildings in each of these regions share common traits yet show particular trends in design distinct from the others. In Durham, the typical form featured diagonal projecting corner turrets, where the North Yorkshire influence is seen in the squared towers and plan. For Ravenworth, it would appear that the quadrangular castle belongs most to the North Yorkshire model (cf. Bolton Castle, Figure 23, and Sheriff Hutton; Pevsner 1966:339) while it also shares many characteristics with nearby Lumley Castle which Hislop would deem a combination of the Durham and North Yorkshire schools. This is not to say that buildings of different schools were built by different craftsmen. On the contrary, master masons such as John Lewyn, among the most important fourteenth century master masons who himself achieving a virtual dominance of high status castle building in the north of England (Hislop 2007), would work with the materials and building assistance available in each region and at each site, and the design of such structures was often subject to multiple visions and unforeseen departures from original intentions (e.g. Ravensworth's piecemeal construction).

The form and function of the quadrangular castle is illustrated well in a number of surviving examples in the region. Bolton Castle (Figure 23; Hislop 1996:173) is perhaps the best example of a quadrangular castle still standing in Britain and has received much attention from archaeologists and architectural historians (see Pevsner 1966:104-6, Hislop 1996, a comprehensive archaeological assessment, and King 2007:392). Here the four towers are connected by a series of subdivided spaces, each with a particular function and illustrating both advances in defensive technology and a new level of comfort available to those living and working inside such a building.

Ravenworth Castle shared many of these amenities, particularly by the later medieval period as evidenced by the long hall shown abutting the south west octagonal tower in the 1787 view of the south range (Figure 21). It is unclear when this structure was built, yet close examination of the engraving shows a number of characteristics of a late medieval design. The structure was two storeys tall with five bays, had what would appear to be a slated roof, and had six-light windows which, on the second storey, reached up to the roofline. The buttress that stood against the western edge of the elevation would seem to indicate a period of construction in line with the towers themselves or, at the very least, by the end of the fifteenth century. An excellent point of comparison is



Figure 24: Elvethall Manor, Durham (Keys to the Past 2016)

found in Durham City where a pair of late medieval tithe barns for the Priory of Durham Cathedral, known as Elvethall Manor, survive as part of what is now the Durham Prison Officer's Club (Listed Buildings 1323279). The 'Great Barn' (Figure 24) was possibly built c.1446-7 but is surely of the mid-fifteenth century based on parallels in Yorkshire (Arnold and Howard 2010; Roberts 2003:106). As in the building at Ravensworth (Figure 21), the window heads of the Great Barn rise to the eaves of the roof and are surrounded by large stone slabs. The roof would originally have been stone-slatted. Based on this comparison, Ravensworth's buttressed hall was most likely built in the later part of the fifteenth century during the Lumleys' tenure.

For the fourteenth and fifteenth century castle, the marriage of advances in comfort (evidenced by the amenities of the south tower; see also Crowley 2003) and practical defensive use is central to an understanding of this type of architecture, especially as it pertains to building campaigns in the north of England. According to a 1415 survey, there were at that point thirty-seven castles, three foralices, and seventy-five towers in Northumberland (King 2007:373). Northumberland was by far the most heavily castellated county in England yet over half of these castles listed had been built since the Scottish wars of 1296. Fine examples of such structures are Aydon, Morpeth, and Ogle (Pears 2010:80). While there is a clear link to be made between the outbreak of war and a greater tendency towards castle building, this phenomenon may not be as cut and dry as would seem. Despite the arguments of most historians writing on the castellation of Northumberland and Durham (Milner 1976:168; Ryder 1990:127), castle building did not subside in the region following the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 but rather continued well past this date (King 2007:373). Furthermore, the construction of a fortified castle would not have made much difference if the castle was not suitably garrisoned (see King 2007:380, where the costs of defending such structures are outlined).

Considering such castles as Aydon, Ford, Ogle, and especially Bothal, there arose an impetus to build castles as a reminder of a family's new or enduring influence in the region and commitment to and/or celebration of military service and not necessarily for truly defensive purposes. This is a decidedly localised phenomenon, where landowners in other parts of England used church-building as a means to similar aggrandising ends. There are indeed similar cases of castle building in other areas of England (as detailed by King 2007:392-4) yet proliferation in Northumberland, Cumbria, and Durham far outnumbered these. That said, it should be noted that the Ravensworth Estate south of the Tyne was well away from border marches and greater densities of fortified buildings, and as such, construction of a large complex of this sort was an enormously powerful statement of status and wealth, and of disposable wealth at that, much more so than a practical defensive solution.

What emerges is a dichotomy of architectural intention. The key points for Ravensworth are its symbolic status in the region as a reminder of military and political influence, where the building is used to promote the wealth and status of the occupant, and its relatively low levels of defensive properties as

shown through archaeological investigation. The goal was an association with the fortified architecture of neighbouring estates and the enjoyment of a pleasant living space in a scenic (and politically advantageous) environment. From its enclosure as a quadrangular structure through to the twentieth century, Ravensworth Castle offered its various occupants a comfortable life which was on display for anyone who happened to glance to the west while making their way northwards into Newcastle upon Tyne. It is this marriage of strength and omniscience that defined the estate in the medieval period and which carried through for the Liddells as its early modern owners.

The Purchase of Ravensworth Castle and Creation of the Baronetcy

The Liddell family's tenure at Ravensworth Castle begins with Thomas Liddell's purchase of the estate in 1607. Thomas (son of Thomas de Liddel or Lyddale) was a politician (Mayor of Newcastle in 1609) and merchant with various landholdings in Newcastle upon Tyne, an early example of which was the close at Carlisle Croft (now called Carliol Square) which was gifted to Liddell by a fellow merchant on 2 April 1599/1600 (DRO D/CG 16/1011). In acquiring Ravensworth Castle, Thomas Liddell took control of one of the largest single estates on Tyneside and effectively joined an élite class of Northern landowners. His son (also called Thomas Liddell) succeeded to Ravensworth Castle on his father's death in 1615, already an established politician for the area in his own right. This Thomas (d.1650) served as Sheriff of Newcastle in 1609 (under his father) and Mayor of Newcastle in 1625 and 1636 (Newcastle City Council n.d.). He also served as Member of Parliament for Newcastle in 1640 during the so-called Short Parliament (Willis 1750:234). Liddell was a Royalist, and for his services to the Crown in the defence of Newcastle during the wars with Scotland was created the 1st Baronet Ravensworth by Charles I on 2 November 1642 (Cokayne 1900:205). The 1st Baronet was succeeded by his grandson Sir Thomas Henry Liddell who rose to the Baronetage in 1650 (his father, also Sir Thomas Henry Liddell, had died in 1627; Cokayne 1900:205). While the 2nd Baronet's year of birth is unknown, he was surely quite young when rising to the Baronetcy as he died near the end of the century in 1697, succeeded by Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt.

During this period of transition from a medieval to an early modern England of industry and mercantilism, the rising prosperity of those outside the nobility and a diminishing feudal economy meant capital could be used as a tool for upward mobility. This was a period of an "open élite" (Johnson 1996:136, citing Stone & Stone 1984; this concept is discussed in greater depth in Chapter VII), where the shrinking size of the existing gentry made forging an élite identity possible for those with the resources to buy into it: a critical point in the history of élite architectural authority "looking both forwards and backwards" (Johnson 1996:121). Lawrence Stone dubbed this period c.1558-1641 "the crisis of the aristocracy" (1965).

It unclear whether the Liddell family made any significant architectural changes to the castle during the seventeenth century. Judging by the plan (Figure 29, drawn as part of the 3rd Bt's early eighteenth

century plan for rebuilding/refacing), the majority of the castle seems to have been constructed in the centuries before the Liddells' occupation with the exception of the large rectangular range on the right side of the drawing. This section of the house could have been an addition of the seventeenth century but this is impossible to prove without geophysical survey of the area or full-scale archaeological excavation. Foundations are likely to have survived subsurface as the nineteenth century Ravensworth Castle c.1808 did not supplant this area of the property.

Barring geophysical survey, the seventeenth century architectural history of the property must be interpreted based on contemporary examples. While many castles particularly in the north were left in ruins by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to a reduced importance of royal travel in the region (Colvin et al 1973), many others remained and were updated to contemporary living standards. This is particularly evident in Leland's *Itinerary* (c.1535-43), from which a good example is his description of Durham Castle where Bishop Tunstall had modified the structure to include a new gallery and staircase more befitting of the times (Leland 1907). Beyond mere retention and reuse, the early seventeenth century also saw a number of the new buildings constructed deliberately to evoke an earlier medieval aesthetic (cf. Walworth Castle, County Durham, built for the Jenison family of Walworth c.1600 in the style of an earlier medieval castle; James 1974:16). The Little Keep at Bolsover, Derbyshire (built c.1612-21) is another good example of this movement where an entirely new castle was constructed to the tune of a contemporary idealization of the castle form (see Faulkner 1961).

Such reuse for the purpose of creating lineage is not unique and the application of which at Ravensworth may be best understood by comparison with other relevant sites. Perhaps the finest seventeenth century example of a medieval castle being reused (in terms of habitation and political advantage) is Penshurst Place, Kent (Figure 25): a fine fourteenth century hall with fifteenth and sixteenth century additions in keeping with the original character of which Pevsner said "there is no finer or more complete C14 manor house" (Pevsner 1969:436). Penshurst was purchased by the Sidney family in the middle part of the sixteenth century. Shortly thereafter, a series of additions were built onto the house while retaining the fourteenth century hall as the building's core (Ditchfield 1907:217-18, Pevsner 1969:436). Even with these additions in place, the fourteenth century hall was being used communally in the second half of the sixteenth century with a common hearth, precisely as Pulteney (the original owner) had used it (Pevsner 1969:438). This experience is best described in Ben Jonson's *To Penshurst*, published c.1616, which has been called the model for the English country poem. Penshurst is described as the ideal for English country living with perfect harmony between all residents, servicemen and servicewomen, the local population, and of course the house and gardens themselves. Jonson writes of an "old English hospitality" signifying not just the wealth of the occupants but their attention to and celebration of a distinctly English set of traditions (Heal 1990, Heal & Holmes 1994). This ideal was contrasted in the poem with a cleaner, more pretentious style of architecture which Jonson saw as lacking not in authenticity but in true culture.

Thou art not, Penshurst, built to envious show,
Of touch, or marble; nor can boast a row
Of polish'd pillars, or a roof of gold:
Thou has no lantern, whereof tales are told;
Or stair, or courts; but stand'st an ancient pile,
And these grudg'd at, art reverenc'd the while.

Now, Penshurst, they that will proportion thee
With other edifices, when they see
Those proud, ambitious heaps, and nothing else,
May say, their lords have built, but thy lord dwells.



Figure 25: Penshurst Place, Kent. penshurstplace.com (copyright obtained from webmaster)

For the Liddells, purchasing a castle meant establishing a credible justification for the family's social position. Like Penshurst, the fourteenth century elements of Ravensworth Castle's fabric are what define the complex, and like the Sidneys, the Liddells were in the market for an ancient lineage to complement their political and mercantile success. In this manner, it is interesting to address the north v. south dynamic in castle patronage, where Ravensworth was clearly more likened to estates in the south than Northumberland (see, for example, the mine-owning Myddelton family's acquiring of Ruthin Castle in North Wales, 1632; Denbighshire Record Office, GB 0209 DD/RC). Most important, however, is the Liddell family's clear desire to create a lineage within the local landscape which could be outwardly appreciated as belonging to a culture of such within English baronial society (see James 1974).

The 3rd Baronet

The only depiction of Ravensworth Castle in the early eighteenth century is the engraving by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck published in 1728 (Figure 27). This view shows the house from the east and is perhaps the best representation of Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt's posthumously-realised vision for the property. As with many engravings from this series, the image is idealised rather than diagnostic (cf. view of Lumley Castle from this series, discussed in Chapter IV) though this interpretive view is all the more relevant for the present discussion. It is a depiction of a late seventeenth to early eighteenth century ideal (see Deetz 1977:112, where the idea of applying an ordered classical language is discussed in the context of colonial American architecture; this transatlantic phenomenon is discussed at length in Chapter VII) gleaned through the 3rd Baronet's personal exposure to changing architectural trends both local and national (discussed in the chapter to follow). As such, discussion will first focus on the architectural evidence available from this image and interpretation of its presentation of the estate. Such interpretations are then compared with available plans and additional images in an effort to present a holistic understanding of the structure and its eighteenth century use by the Liddell family.

Despite the vagueness of certain structural details, Bucks' engraving shows Ravensworth as it was remodelled up to 1728 and as such warrants thorough examination. The image is skewed to a certain degree giving the appearance that the central courtyard is longer east to west rather than north to south, when in reality it was the other way around. Working backwards from east to west, the foreground shows the two medieval corner towers which survive at present with most of the east curtain wall removed. Though it is unclear whether this wall was removed before or during the remodelling c.1717-28, Sir Henry Liddell's letters to John Bright detail his intentions for a fence between the towers which was apparently realised as planned (SA WWM/Br/177:5). The 2014 NAA report states that the steps in the curtain wall were likely an early eighteenth century development (cf. Figure 26, Crawley Tower, Northumberland, where similar stepped wall tops were fashioned in the eighteenth century, in this case on a fourteenth century tower ruin used as an eye catcher). Regardless of the date of this work, opening the curtain wall meant exposing the east front of the newly redesigned house to those travelling northwards to Newcastle and in turn affording views of the Team Valley from the house itself (this idea of viewing the "big house" is discussed further in Chapter VII in comparison with plantation estates in the colonial Chesapeake region).

The towers themselves are simplified along with the rest of the building but include some diagnostic features, namely the chimneys and sundials. The chimneys indicate domestic use during this period and are likely associated with early eighteenth century works. Two walls can be seen extending out from the towers on the north side of the north tower and the south side of the south tower. These may or may not have been the result of artistic licensing as they are not represented in the 1785 estate plan (Figure 32). Stretching westwards from the towers are a curtain wall to the south and a single-storey range to

the north. The former is presumably medieval but with later medieval windows and a door inserted in its face. The latter is potentially medieval and by the eighteenth century may have been a kitchen, judging by the chimney visible in the engraving. These two stretches of wall/rooms form the north and south boundaries of a central courtyard which had stone paths around its periphery and through its centre on an east-west orientation, leading from the main gate to the entrance of the Palladian front.



Figure 26: Crawley Tower, Powburn, Northumberland
Photograph by Christine Westerback, <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/330608>, copyright obtained



Figure 27: The East View of Ravensworth Castle, in the Bishoprick of Durham, c.1728
Engraved by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck (DCL Prints 261aa)

A third tower is shown at the northwest corner. Though it would appear that this structure was a corner tower belonging to the medieval quadrangular castle, the later southeast view of the house c.1787 shows the corner tower further to the west (Figure 21). Owing to this discrepancy, either the original quadrangular complex may have terminated at this tower shown in 1728 but was later extended or the original complex included a fifth tower set along the north curtain wall. Regardless of the sequence, the Bucks' engraving shows four sash windows inserted in the east face of this tower to match those of the Palladian building in the centre. In between these two structures is a small single-storey building with a corresponding copy on the other side of the Palladian building. The arrangement of buildings at the southwest corner is even more difficult to discern. Here the engraving appears to show one or two late medieval buildings at the terminus of the curtain wall and abutting the smaller single-storey building described above. The roofline of the southwest building is pitched on a north-south orientation though this may have been artistic licensing. Part of a west curtain wall or medieval tower is visible in the far southwest corner between the aforementioned pitched-roof structure and the Palladian building, likely the octagonal tower pictured in the 1787 engraving (Figure 21).

The centrepiece of the engraving and indeed of the house itself in the early eighteenth century is the Palladian structure (Figure 33, detail, and Figure 34, author's interpretation). This was a simple yet dignified structure, an interpretation of continental living based on an emerging English national identity in architecture. It was not typically Palladian in design, with no *piano nobile* present to name one distinctive feature of the style, but rather served to showcase a number of important contemporary innovations in taste and functionality. These features were put on display for the visitor in an understated yet elegant manner and no doubt ensured a place for the Liddells among the learned architectural patrons of the local and national spheres. Though the emphasis of Bucks' view remains on the medieval character of Ravensworth Castle, this Palladian structure was the result of a series of improvements in the early eighteenth century which until this thesis have remained vague.

In terms of its architecture on the east front of the Palladian house, the design of the structure itself is fairly straightforward. The building sits on a plinth which in turn sits directly on the stone walkway in front. This may have been chamfered as evidenced by the shadow shown in the engraving, indicating some degree of depth. The front is pierced by seven bays of sash windows constructed in a shape typical of early eighteenth century Georgian design with eighteen square panes. These may have been imported from London but could potentially have been produced locally, as at Newton Hall (SA WWM BR 173:9). Incorporating thirteen in one face would have been a dramatic statement of the family's familiarity with then modern innovation and taste. At the centre stood a single doorway which appears to have been framed by pilasters and capped by a simple cornice. The frieze appears to feature triglyph decoration which would indicate a Roman doric language for the enclosure. While capitals are not easily discernible, the southern of the two pilasters appears to suggest an astragal. Alternatively, the sides may have

finished with consoles. The openings were surrounded by a wall of no distinctive character and the front as a whole was bounded by simple quoining.



Figure 28: View in ink of the entrance of Ravensworth Castle, c.1773
 Drawn by Samuel Grimm (BL Additional MS 15540)

A string course separated the main wall and frieze and is shown to have extended a few inches from the wall face. The frieze itself was undecorated and seems to have risen above the roof edge, enclosing it entirely (cf. 1787 view, Figure 21). The elevation was finished with a cornice which is shown to have extended from the wall a few inches further than the aforementioned stringcourse (cf. Eslington Park, discussed in the chapter to follow). The roof itself was pierced by two small chimneys. This is typical of early Georgian houses where the chimneys would service rooms on two or four sides, in this case likely two sides for each chimney, though later engravings show additional chimneys which may correspond with interior modifications c.1758 during the later rebuilding campaign (discussed below). As far as this engraving will show, the roof had a shallow north-south pitch and its details are visible at the southeast corner of the building. Though it appears to have been hipped, the engravings from 1787 and 1773 (Figure 28) show a simple double-pitched roof.

Beyond these details of the structure itself, Buck's view gives the impression of an open house, where owner, visitor, and admirer alike can appreciate the qualities of the inner courtyard with comparably little restriction. Since the house stands atop an inclined surface, the former two are afforded spectacular views of the Team Valley and, importantly, of travellers moving northwards towards Newcastle. From the admirers perspective, the grand new Palladian east front is not masked by a curtain wall but rather is presented as the focal point of an integration between modern technological and stylistic innovation and a more ancient castle arrangement. By mostly but not entirely removing the east curtain wall, the medieval character of enclosure is preserved with the central courtyard remaining distinct from the surrounding landscape (as discussed in the previous chapter). As described above, Bucks' view is noticeably skewed. The fourteenth century towers and quadrangular arrangement in

general are the primary features of the image, no doubt a calculated manipulation on the part of the artist considering the relative detail in depiction of the Palladian front (discussed below). That said, the eye is drawn to the Palladian structure as the nucleus of the structure. It is the marriage of these two philosophies that defined Ravensworth Castle in its familial, associative, and geographical contexts.

In terms of the plan of the house, there remains some question as to the precise layout of the complex before and after the rebuilding. Included in the series of letters from the 3rd Bt to his son John Bright of Badsworth Hall (Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments) are a number of plans of Ravensworth Castle. These were sent to Bright in connection with the rebuilding effort and illustrate Bright as a respected consultant on matters of architectural design. The hired craftsman for the initiative was Thomas Shirley, a joiner by trade who worked with the 3rd Bt at Newton Hall and served as consultant and arguably as contributing designer for the Ravensworth redevelopment project (Shirley's role as craftsman-architect and implications of such a position are discussed at length in the chapter to follow). Among the various plans for landscape developments at Ravensworth and Newton Hall, including instructions for the rebuilding of the fence referenced above, three plans of the house itself survive in the archive: two for the first storey showing the existing structure and a plan for "repaires" and one for second storey "repaires." These three plans are marked with letters/numbers (respectively) to denote the various spaces, and the numbers used in the "repaires" plan have been reproduced on both images in the same places to aid in discussion. The comparative lists of rooms are reproduced below.

Ground Floor "Old Ravensworth" c.1717 Ground Floor "Repaires" c.1717

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| A. The Nursery (9) | 1. The portsh and pasidges |
| B. A Closet [removed] | 2. The hall yt now is 19 foot 6 inches by 17 foot |
| C. The Staire Case (8) | 3. The little parlour |
| D. The Drawing Room (7) | 4. The pantry and offices |
| E. A Chip Closet [removed] | 5. The new Hall 23 foot by 18 foot |
| F. A Waiting room [removed] | 6. The withdrawing room 18 foot by 17 foot |
| G. The Dining room (5 and 6) | 7. The great parlour in ye new building |
| H. The Servants hall [removed] | 8. The Room where ye stairs now is |
| J. Passages (1) | 9. The nursery |
| K. Little parlour (3) | 10. A pantry 14 foot by 8 foot |
| L. The Hall (2) | |
| M. The Buttery (4) | |
| N. The Little Cellar [kept] | |

The ground floor plan marked as "Plan of Ravensworth Old Castle" is a scaled drawing (10 feet to 1 inch) with identified rooms (Figure 29) and clearly shows the extent of surviving medieval walls, namely those surrounding the entranceway (1), rooms 2 and 3, and the room at the top centre (not labelled). Its corresponding "1st floor of Ravs. Repaires" (ground floor) (Figure 30) shows a number of planned changes, mostly to do with removing the room at the top centre and subdividing the area of 5 and 6. The service stairs below 5 have been removed entirely and this section moved further down to align

with the bottom edge of 7. The main staircase has been moved from 8 on the Old Ravensworth plan (B on this plan) to the centre of the house, where a new well-type staircase was to be built abutting the much earlier medieval wall. Though the "repaires" plan includes some new windows, the Old Ravensworth plan does not include windows and thus no comment can be made.

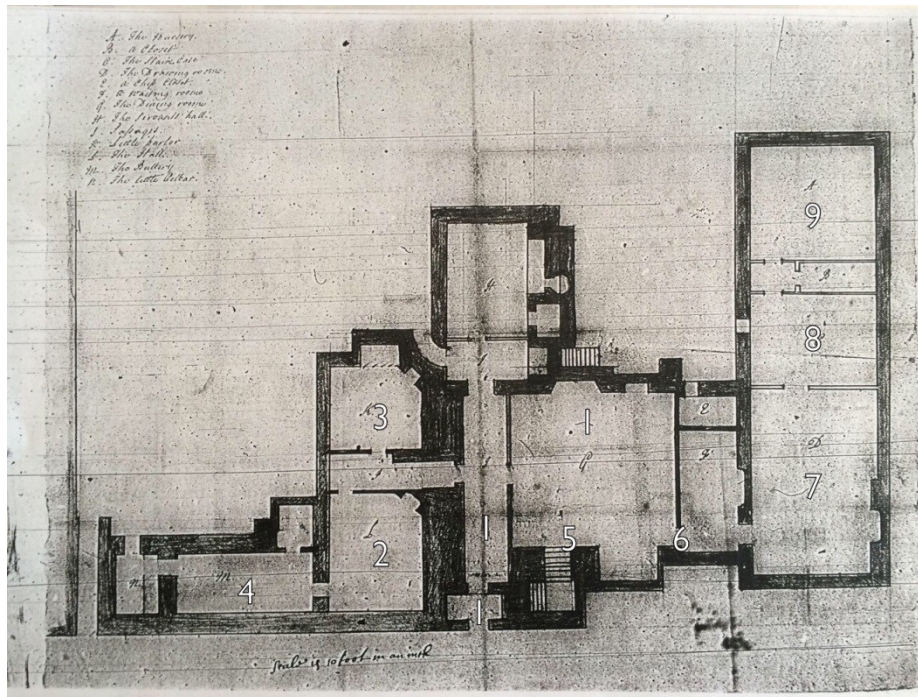


Figure 29: Plan of Ravensworth Old Castle c.1717 (SA WWM BR 177:8)

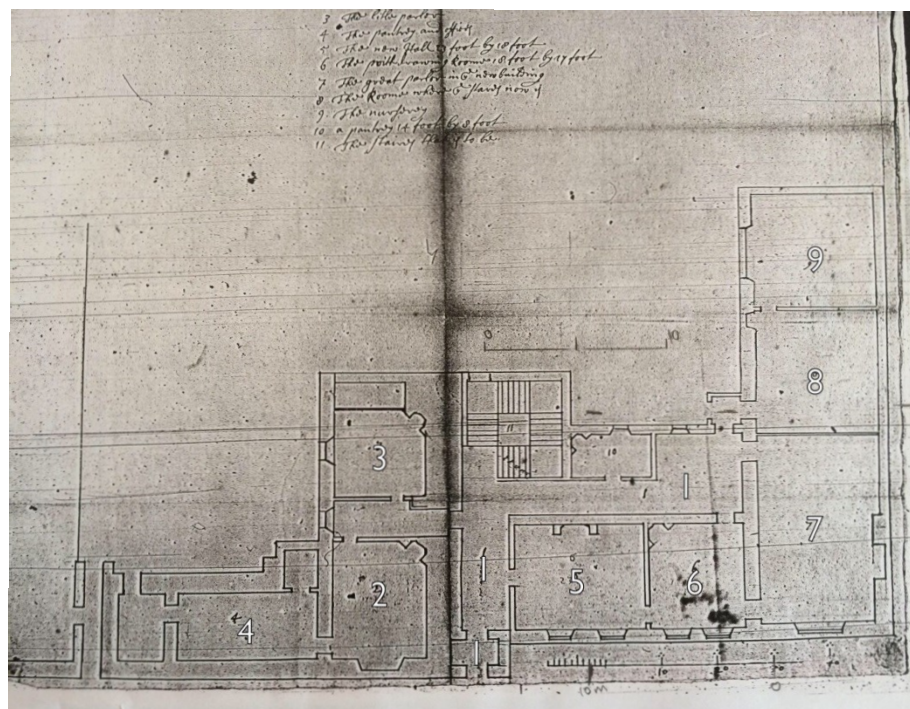


Figure 30: 1st Floor of Ravens. Repaires c.1717 (SA WWM BR 177:7)

The Sheffield Archives collection does not include a plan for the former layout of the second storey. The proposed plan for "repaires" of this level of the house (Figure 31) is shown below, and its denoted rooms reproduced for clarity.

Second Storey "Repaires"

12. The lodgin Room	18 foot by 19 foot
13. a Closett	12 foot by 6 foot
14. a lodgin Room	18 foot by 16 foot
15. a closet	12 foot by 5 foot
16. a lodgin Room	18 foot by 15 foot
17. a Dressing Room or servants Room	16 foot by 14 foot
18. a lodgin Room	18 foot by 16 foot
19. a closet	16 foot by 6 foot
20. a Bedchamber	22 foot by 16 foot
21. ye pasidges	
22. a servants Room	14 foot by 8 foot
23. ye staires from ye new Building	

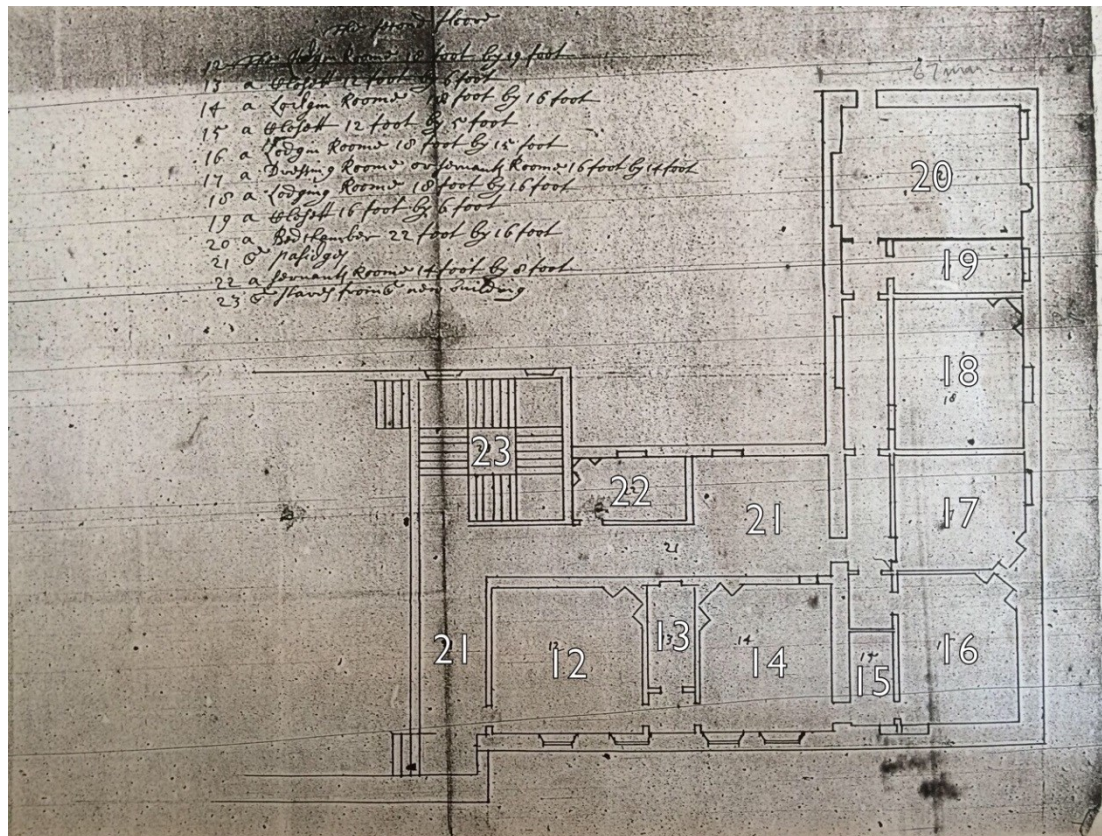


Figure 31: 2nd floor of Ravens. Repaires (WWM BR 177:3)

It is not possible to gauge the extent of alteration in this portion of the house, and this may be because there never was a second storey for the original pre-1728 Ravensworth Castle. The second storey is modelled on the same plan of the ground floor and its plan shows no evidence of reused medieval walls except for in the bottom left corner of the drawing which corresponds with the ground floor "portsh."

Regardless of whether this storey was entirely new following rebuilding, it housed no less than five formal bedrooms, one of which (20) was likely a master bedroom with its own private closet (19) and views of the northern portion of the estate (i.e. the area of The Trench, discussed in Chapters II and IV). The rebuilding would have accommodated a large number of guests, implying a degree of demand for such.

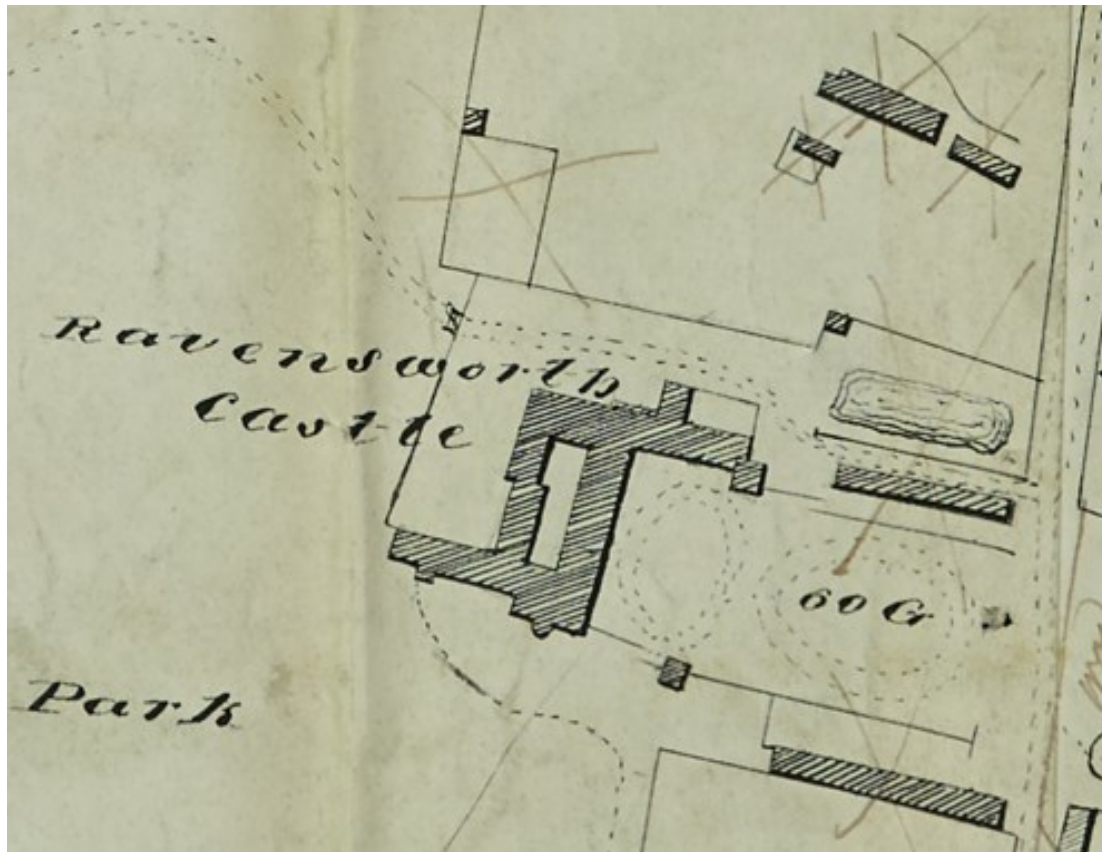


Figure 32: Detail of *Plan of Lands in the Manor of Ravensworth and Lamesley in the Parish of Chester le Street* Surveyed by John Fryer c.1785 (DRO D/Bo/G26/xxvii)

Despite the level of detail used in drafting these plans, none make explicit the geographical orientation of the complex. This makes sense considering the plans are being exchanged between family members and are drawn in reference to an existing structure, yet the absence of this detail raises a number of questions as to the exact nature of the rebuilding. There are a number of possible scenarios. The commonly-held belief (NAA report) is that the long, rectangular range on the right side of Figures 29 and 30 could quite reasonably be the east front seen in Bucks' engraving, indicating that this portion of the house was refaced in a Palladian style during the rebuilding. Alternatively, as has been suggested by Martin Roberts (personal communication), the bottom of the image could be the east face to make the "portsh" at I the main entrance seen in Bucks' engraving, meaning this side was the recipient of refacing in the Palladian style (cf. Abbey House on Palace Green in Durham City where a fourteenth and fifteenth century core was refaced in the eighteenth century, The Rectory on Bow Lane in Durham City where the medieval Kingsgate was refaced, as well as Burlington's Chiswick House where the earlier

Jacobean manor house was given a new entrance front c.1725 and connected to the new Villa; Harris 1994, particularly Chapter IV). Fryer's 1785 plan of the estate (Figure 32) does not provide any answers since either arrangement would work within the complex as it stood in the later part of the eighteenth century.

There are four main points to consider, namely the placement of the "portsh," the indentation of the wall directly to the right of it (1), the suggested stairs at the left edge of the house in the second storey plan, and the arrangement as compared to the 1787 engraving. Concerning the indentation of the wall below 5 and 6, this portion of the design does not correspond in any way with the east front seen in the 1728, 1773, or 1787 images of the house. Next, the mysterious sets of stairs on the second storey may well correspond with a second storey of the 15th century hall seen in the 1787 engraving, though this is merely speculation. Finally, on first glance the 1787 image does not correspond with the front being the range with 7, 8, and 9 bearing in mind the length of rooms 5 and 6 and the octagonal tower shown in the 1787 image (not pictured on either plan).

The "portsh" is denoted as such in both Figure 29 and Figure 30 and must therefore have been preserved as a doorway, whether or not this was the principal entrance to the house. James Paine's Gothic additions c.1758 (Figure 21) show a doorway in what would appear to be the precise location of this entrance at 1, assuming this orientation is the correct one. That said, closer examination of Bucks' 1728 engraving of the house (Figure 33) reveals a genuine irregularity in the spacing of the sash windows, specifically the central window of the second storey. This window is noticeably closer to the window to its left (to the north) than the one to its right. The main doorway below is also slightly off-centred in this direction. Returning to the "1st floor of Ravs. Repaires" (ground floor) (Figure 30), it is clear that the reuse of the main entrance on this plan would have meant dealing with a medieval wall approximately 4.5 feet thick (1.37m) south of the doorway using the scale provided on the plan. Assuming the projected repairs were carried out, the corresponding wall to the right of the doorway was significantly reduced in thickness which would correspond with the spacing shown in Figure 33.

These issues of symmetry present an interesting dichotomy within the Buck engraving considering the obviously warped perspective discussed above. Though the artists clearly chose to distort the view in a manner that accentuates the medieval elements (i.e. the fourteenth century towers and curtain walls), the Palladian house itself is drawn with a surprisingly high degree of accuracy. In fact, it is the only element of the complex in which the features are not idealised. It is this accuracy that makes comparisons with other structures (especially Eslington) achievable and reasonable. Beyond comparison, the irregularity of the centre window and door may well solidify the alternative theory of the plan's orientation, with the bottom representing the east face.

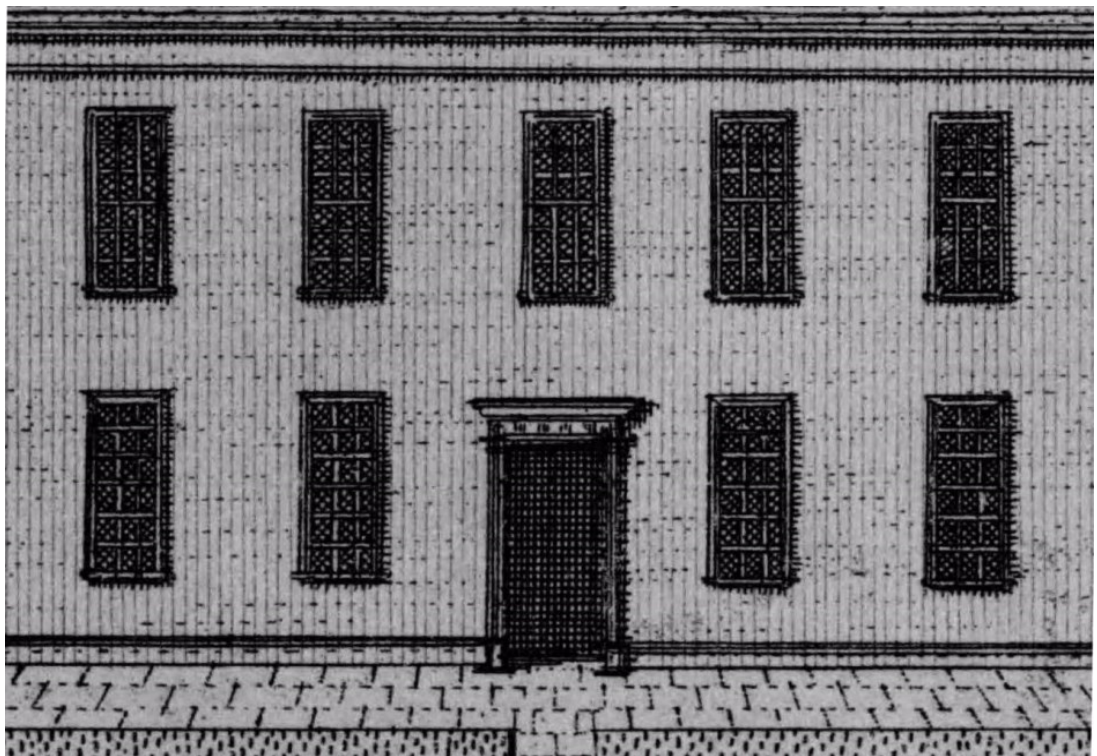


Figure 33: Detail of The East View of Ravensworth Castle, in the Bishoprick of Durham, 1728

Considering each of these points, an interpretive rendering of the façade of Ravensworth Castle's east face as refaced to designs by the 3rd Baronet and Thomas Shirley is shown below in Figure 34. The dimensions and proportions of the rendering have been calculated based on the available plans and elevations discussed above and by comparison with proportions of the east face at Eslington Park and west face at Wallington whose similarities are discussed in further detail in Chapter VI.

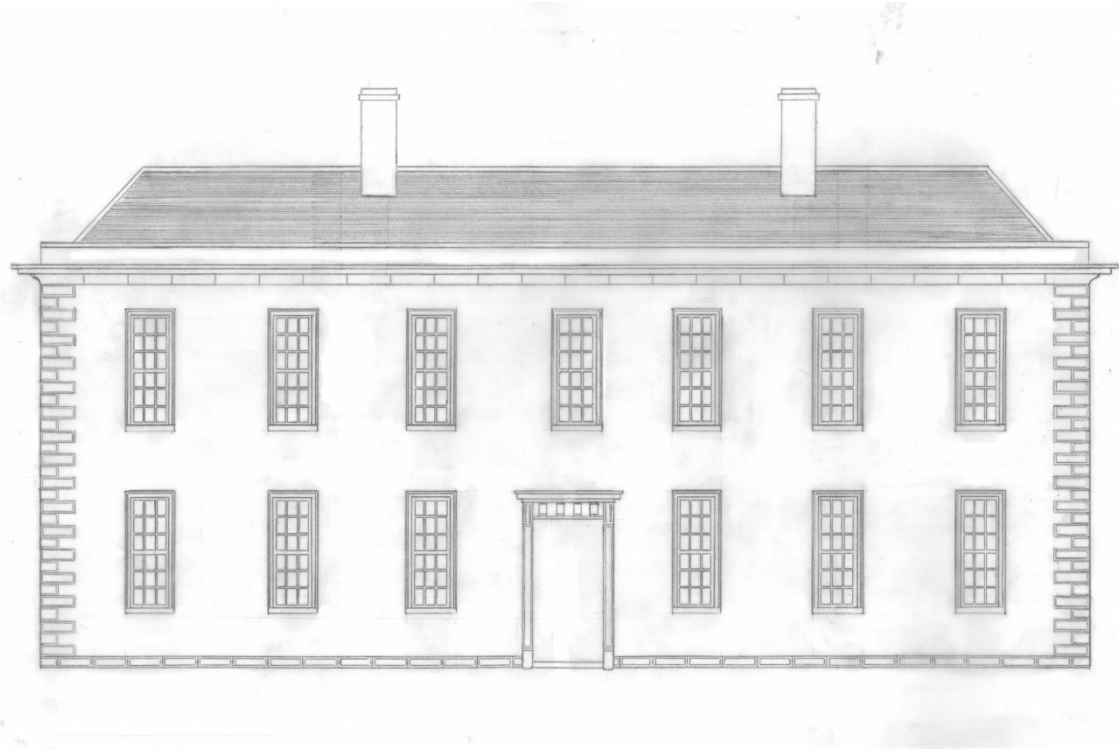


Figure 34: East face of Ravensworth Castle, author's interpretation
Originally sized A3, pencil on 41gsm vellum

The orientation of Ravensworth Castle remains vague, yet one final consideration may provide an answer. Considering once again the plan of Old Ravensworth (Figure 29), the far left of the image shows what appears to be another wall extending up to nearly beyond the level of the rectangular range (7, 8, and 9). The bottom of this wall makes a turn to the left implying an additional range of the complex. If, perhaps, this portion of the drawing was meant to indicate the place of the curtain wall and its associated buildings (i.e. the fifteenth century hall), this would explain all issues raised above. If this were the case, and the plan was indeed orientated with the east at the bottom and west at the top, there are a few implications to consider, first and foremost being the lack of a straight Palladian front.

It is entirely possible that the Palladian east front was a later addition to the design. The surviving plans date from 1717 and construction was not completed until after the 3rd Bt's death in 1723. Colonel Liddell (4th Bt) wrote from Ravensworth in April 1724 that "my papers are in confusion by pulling down the greatest part of our house" (Hughes 1952:26, reference to original letter not supplied and not found

during the researching of this thesis). This implies major works going on at the property, perhaps not even commencing until shortly before the letter was written. As such, the majority of Ravensworth's modifications may have been carried out in the first few years of the 4th Bt's tenure, most important of which was probably the building of the Palladian east front. Hughes offers that the house was substantially modified in the early 1730s (Hughes 1952:26) during the first few years of the young 4th Bt's tenure, but no references are supplied, and this may well be in reference to other works besides the Palladian front. All that is certain is that the east front was refaced at some point before 1728 to a design which was conceived at some point after 1717.

Regardless of the sequence of events, it is clear from the above analysis of the remaining plans and letters that Ravensworth Castle's interior was substantially remodeled and its exterior refaced in a Palladian style. As is explored in the chapter to follow, its exterior design was closely linked to that employed at Eslington during the same decade, its "architect" was engaged to reface the structure as he had done at Streatham, and pioneering sash window technology employed at Newton was echoed at the family seat. The completion of the Ravensworth redesign, or rather refitting, was in effect the final phase of an architectural overhaul spearheaded by the 3rd Bt. As the tenures of his successors would show, Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt created for his family a culture of architectural reflections of status: recognising the limitations of their holdings, reacting, and implementing the changes necessary for establishing, revising, and preserving legacy.

The Legacy of Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Baronet, 1730-1808

Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt was buried in Kensington on the 3rd of September 1723. Having lost three out of his four sons without issue and the remaining heir, John Bright, to his wife's father's seat in Yorkshire, the Baronetcy passed to his grandson, the then fifteen-year-old Henry Liddell (Mackenzie & Ross 1834:152). This Henry the 4th Bt was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1725 (Cambridge Alumni Database), orchestrated the signing of the Grand Alliance in 1726, and took the Grand Tour in the early 1730s (Lowe 2004; the itinerary of this tour is not known). By the time he was raised to the peerage as the first Baron Ravensworth on 29 June 1747, Sir Henry Liddell had managed to solidify his family's reputation on a national scale. These successes were in essence the realised visions of his grandfather who had spearheaded the precursors to the Grand Alliance (as discussed in Chapter III) and initiated a culture of property diversification for the family. That said, the distinct visions of the 4th Bt are clear in the architectural history of the complex, where the middle part of the eighteenth century saw an amplification of the medieval character of the structure with the commissioning of some of the earliest Gothic Revival architecture in England (precedents and interpretations are discussed at length in the chapter to follow). In this section, these changes are explored as they pertain to the evolving architectural character of Ravensworth Castle leading up to what can be called the end of the long eighteenth century for the Liddells.

Enhancing the “Gothic”: Convergence of Styles under the 4th Baronet

From 1758 Ravensworth Castle received the second of two significant exterior and interior remodellings of the eighteenth century. Following on the refacing of the earlier medieval east front and changes to the arrangement of interior spaces c.1717-28 under the tenure of the 3rd Bt, the 4th Bt (by the middle part of the eighteenth century recognised as 1st Baron Ravensworth) initiated a second redevelopment plan which continued to utilise the medieval components of the structure. In this campaign, however, the presentation of a more ancient family lineage was brought to the fore of the design process in an effort to bolster such a narrative rather even further than what was offered by the five original towers. As has been discussed, Ravensworth Castle was a site which came with a status in the local landscape especially considering the relative antiquity of its associated buildings as compared with other estates (e.g. Gibside, and even Lumley considering Sir Ralph Lumley did not begin work on his quadrangular castle until near the end of the fourteenth century). By reinforcing associations of the Liddell family with the early fourteenth century origin story of the house, the already extraordinarily successful Baronets (or Barons) Ravensworth only stood to gain in reputation among their contemporaries in the coal trade and the earlier gentry class of Counties Durham and Northumberland. In this section, the character of the c.1758 additions and modifications will be discussed from an archaeological standpoint in an effort to present and further the distinction between the architectural agendas of the 3rd and 4th Baronets. Further interpretations of such agendas and explorations of their precedents and successive effects later iterations of the estate are discussed in the chapter to follow.

For this chapter, however, it is important introduce and analyse this second phase in the eighteenth century development of the house as the result of yet another collaboration between the patron and “architect” which in the case of the campaign c.1758 was between the Baron Ravensworth and the much-celebrated designer James Paine (1717-1789). Originally from Andover, Hampshire, Paine had trained as an architect in London and during this time was integrated into the circle of Lord Burlington (described by Defoe as the “modern Vitruvius”; Defoe 1742:52), gaining commissions primarily in the north of England due to Burlington’s strong ties with Yorkshire (Lees-Milne 1945, Neave 1980, Harris 1994:20). It was from Paine’s time spent working alongside Burlington that both his practice as a classically-driven designer and partiality to work in the north may be traced.

Over the course of Paine’s career nearly forty projects were undertaken in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, where from 1737 to 1752 the designer worked almost exclusively in Yorkshire and, between 1753 and 1760, almost exclusively in Durham and Northumberland (see Leach 1988 for a comprehensive biography of Paine). Though essentially a Palladian, no doubt the result of his time spent among Lord Burlington, Robert Adam (e.g. his joint efforts with Adam at Kedleston Hall c.1759-1760, though Paine would later refuse to participate in the practice of Neoclassical architectural design arguably established by Adam; see works in Paine 1767 and 1783 which are rooted thoroughly in the Palladian tradition), and others of this circle, Paine may also be called one of the first practitioners of

the Gothic Revivalist style (e.g. Paine's work at Alnwick Castle, discussed in the chapter to follow) which would come to dominate British architecture in the nineteenth century.

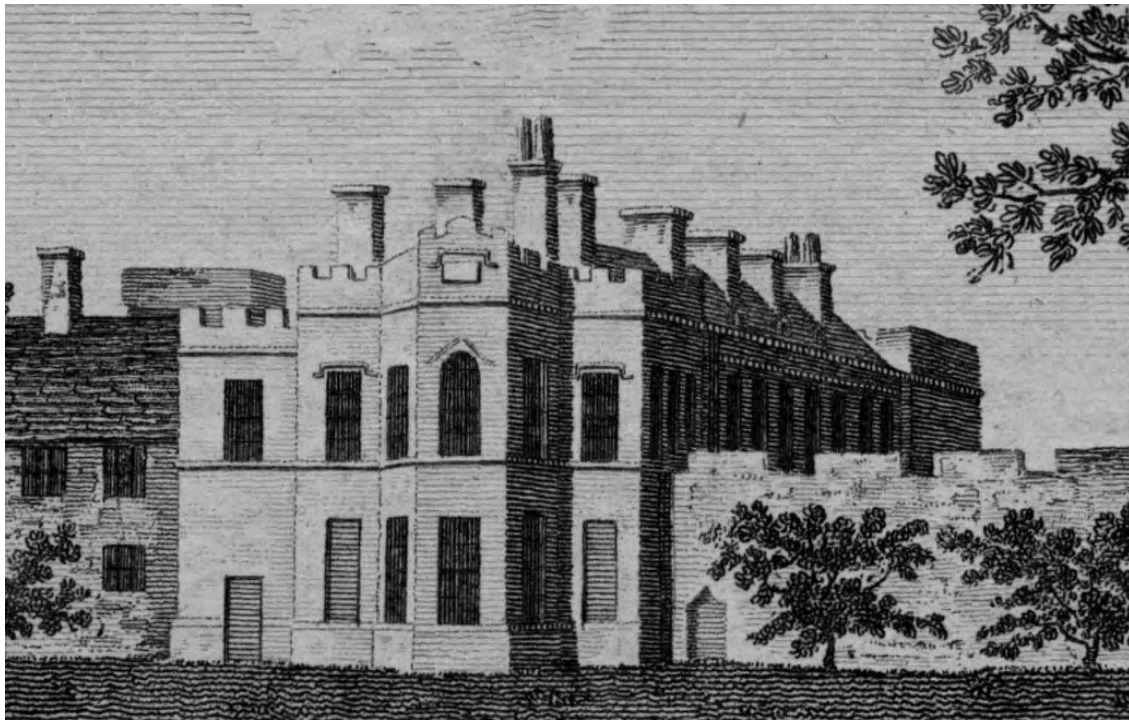


Figure 35: Detail of Ravensworth Castle, 1787. Engraved by John Bailey (Hutchinson 1823:417)

Paine's work at Ravensworth falls into this category of "Georgian Gothic" in both form and decoration and is all the more comparable to other sites in the region in its incorporation into the Palladian front. As well as interior modifications (commentary on these is not possible as no contemporary accounts nor plans survive), Paine designed two Gothic additions flanking the central Palladian house (though the northern of the two may have been a refacing of earlier structures): both of which are visible in surviving prints of the estate (Figure 28 and Figure 35). Both were of two storeys and fenestrated with sash windows with what look like thirteenth century decorated heads on the second-storey windows, string courses separating the storeys, and castellated parapets. The southern of the two pierced a section of the pre-existing medieval curtain wall and was a three-bay structure on its south-facing side with an additional, smaller bay further west which met the fifteenth century hall (Figure 35). The central bay extended out from the face and had an additional window on either side of the extending walls to form a trapezoidal bay window area. All of this sat on a high, chamfered plinth. These design features are echoed at other sites in the region of the same relative period, namely Hamsterley Hall (c.1770; Pevsner 1983:299-300), Castle Eden (c.1766 by William Newton; Pevsner 1983:123), Durham Castle (interiors of the north range updated by Bishop Trevor with Gothic elements c.1753-71 and gatehouse Gothicised under Bishop Barrington c.1791-1826; Pevsner 1983:213), and especially the inner courtyard of Ford Castle which was Gothicised for Sir John Hussey Delaval from 1761 (Pevsner 1999:282-3). The northern addition (or refaced portion) of Ravensworth was similar in character, with the same decorated window

heads on the second storey, though the only surviving image of this portion provides an obstructed, partial view (Figure 28).



Figure 36: Little Harle Tower, Kirkwhelpington, Northumberland. Undated postcard

Both of Paine's additions flanked the central Palladian structure of c.1717-1728 and thus contributed to the principal view of the estate. Here a concurrence of styles is represented well and contained within the design of a single house. Gothic and Palladian were complementary at Ravensworth, in keeping with a larger theme of medieval origins with modern fittings. Ravensworth did not require Gothic additions in order to achieve a medieval character yet the Paine additions seem to highlight the medieval character of the structure and in a time when this aesthetic was becoming increasingly fashionable (discussed further in Chapter VI). The additions further the notion of Ravensworth as an amalgamation of periods rather than the completely modern refacing carried out at some of its contemporary estates (i.e. most of Paine's other work in the region, e.g. Coxhoe Hall, Axwell Hall, and Wallington Hall, each of which were rebuilt in Palladian styles around or on the site of earlier late medieval structures). An excellent local comparison is Little Harle Tower, near Kirkwhelpington, Northumberland (Figure 36). Here a modest two-storey five-bay house with sash windows and a plain parapet was built in the eighteenth century in between two existing fifteenth century towers (both of which were fitted with sash windows, probably at the time of the eighteenth century house's construction). Besides the striking similarities between the central eighteenth century portions themselves, Ravensworth Castle and Little Harle Tower boasted medieval origin stories which for Ravensworth was only accentuated by the Gothic work designed by Paine. Though not in the main houses themselves, the landscapes at Raby and Hardwick share in this convergence of styles with Gothic and Palladian outbuildings occupying the same landscapes.

Gothic was clearly the architectural mode of choice for this purpose as opposed to the grounded rectangularity of classical architecture, and the employing of both forms is indicative at once of the differing purposes of the styles and the delight in a varied estate landscape. With the transition in the middle part of the eighteenth century towards highlighting the medieval character of the house proper, Ravensworth Castle effectively set a tone for itself which influenced the architectural overhaul that followed in the early part of the following century (discussed below). That said, it was this juxtaposition of both Gothic and classical architecture which defined the house's architecture from 1720s where two distinct disciplines were allowed to complement one another while achieving different ends. The rigid symmetry of the Palladian front served to showcase an affinity, appreciation, and participation in a modern language for building which would associate the Liddell family with the architectural character of Burlingtonian London (and Yorkshire, as well as Durham and Northumberland by this point, as discussed previously and in the chapter to follow) and, by proxy, with the continent: a classically-proportioned country house front to house no less than thirteen sash windows of the most current variety. The Gothic additions commissioned under tenure of the 4th Bt quite literally bookended this east front and supported a renewed or augmented emphasis on the more ancient medieval history of the property, where the impression of lineage sought by all gentry could be better appreciated in an early modern context.

Reinvention of a Castle in the Nineteenth Century

Thomas Henry Liddell (b.1775; later Sir) was created the 6th Baronet Ravensworth in 1791, succeeding his father Sir Henry Liddell 5th Bt who had died in that year. The young Baronet served as High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1804 and as a Member of Parliament for County Durham 1806-7 (Tory) (Thorne 1986). Thomas inherited the family's broad and lucrative coal interests as well as the family seats at Ravensworth, Eslington Park, Newton Hall, and No.13 St James's Square, London. Under his supervision, the family's range of properties underwent the largest change since the time of the 3rd Bt over eighty years before. No.13 St. James's Square was vacated c.1794 and lay empty until 1797 when purchased by the 3rd Duke of Roxburgh (Windham Club 1923:34; Windham Club is located at No.11 St. James's Square), Newton Hall was sold to William Russell of Brancepeth Castle in 1812 (DRO D/Br/D 1918-19), and from 1808 the principal seat at Ravensworth Castle received the most dramatic and comprehensive rebuilding in its then over five-hundred-year architectural history.

From this year, nearly all of the house proper, save for the north and south towers and portions of the medieval curtain wall, was torn down in preparation for construction of the massive Gothic Revival castle which survived into the twentieth century before being disassembled due to subsidence issues (ironically, it was coal which eventually undid the Ravensworth Estate). The architect for this project was John Nash (Buckingham Palace, Brighton Pavilion, Regent's Park, among many others), the drawings of whom are held by the Royal Institute of British Architects archive in the Victoria and Albert Museum,

London (Figure 37; RIBA Collection SB54/5(1-12), SB55/1(13-32), and SB56/1(33-46)). Due to the survival of the house until its demolition in the 1950s, this structure was extensively photographed from the middle part of the nineteenth century onwards and is the focus of the majority of the NAA 2014 report. As such, no further commentary on the archaeological significance of the property is necessary in this thesis, though the decision of the 5th Bt (raised to the peerage as Baron Ravensworth on 17 July 1821) to almost completely rebuild in the Gothic style is worthy of consideration as it marks the ultimate consequence of the aforementioned transition in stylistic affinities played out in the middle part of the century and the close of the estate's history in the long eighteenth century.

Though the new Ravensworth Castle was one of the very earliest and finest examples of the Gothic Revival which would come to dominate nineteenth century British architecture, it was not without precedent, and the impetus behind its construction should be explored. Frew points to two important developments in the later part of the eighteenth century, specifically in 1771 (1980:174). These were the publication of James Bentham's *History of Ely Cathedral* and the election of Richard Gough as Director of the London Society of Antiquaries. With Bentham's *History* came arguably the most comprehensive description of a medieval structure to date and one that was more widely available than previous publications. Bentham's work set the tone for future antiquarian research and was readily available for the majority of practicing and aspiring architects. Its publication coincided with the election of a new Director for the Society who called upon his contemporaries to elevate the study of medieval architectural forms to levels previously reserved for the classical. In his *Anecdotes of British Topography* of 1769, Gough proclaimed as such:

One cannot enough regret the little regard hitherto paid to Gothic architecture, of which so many beautiful models are daily crumbling to pieces before our eyes. England can boast specimens of all its stages from the simplest to the most improved ... Had the remains of ancient buildings been more attended to, we should before now have seen a system of Gothic architecture in its various aeras: we should have had all its parts reduced to its rules: their variations and their dates fixed together (Gough 1769:xx).

Response to Gough's call to arms did not have immediate results (only twenty-four out of three hundred and thirty-two papers in the first nine volumes of the journal *Archaeologia* related to medieval architecture, and Bentham's *History* lacked in the quality of its drawings; Frew 1980:175), and although the eighteenth century had had its share of Gothic revival, of which Ravensworth Castle's c.1758 additions by Paine are one example, the scale of application from the early nineteenth century was unprecedented. Owing to more comprehensive studies and detailed drawings of medieval architectural forms, the language of Gothic was better understood and ready for improved application. This is not to suggest that there was any break in construction of Gothic-style structures, but rather that the role of antiquarian interest in medieval structures had not yet reached a level of success which would influence a "great rebuilding" (Hoskins 1953 and Gem 1988, applying Gem's concept of Anglo-Norman architectural overhaul to this context) of sorts. It was during the 1780s and 90s, however, that men such as John Carter, draftsman and advocate for proper restoration at Durham Cathedral and Castle and Auckland Castle in the 1780s (Eastlake 1872:105-6), James Wyatt, the architect of the

aforementioned restoration initiatives (Eastlake 1872:72, Frew 1979, Frew 1982a, and Frew 1982b), and John Nash, the architect of Ravensworth's nineteenth century rebuild, were beginning to design and/or record buildings amidst a culture increasingly interested in a revived Gothic national architecture for Britain.

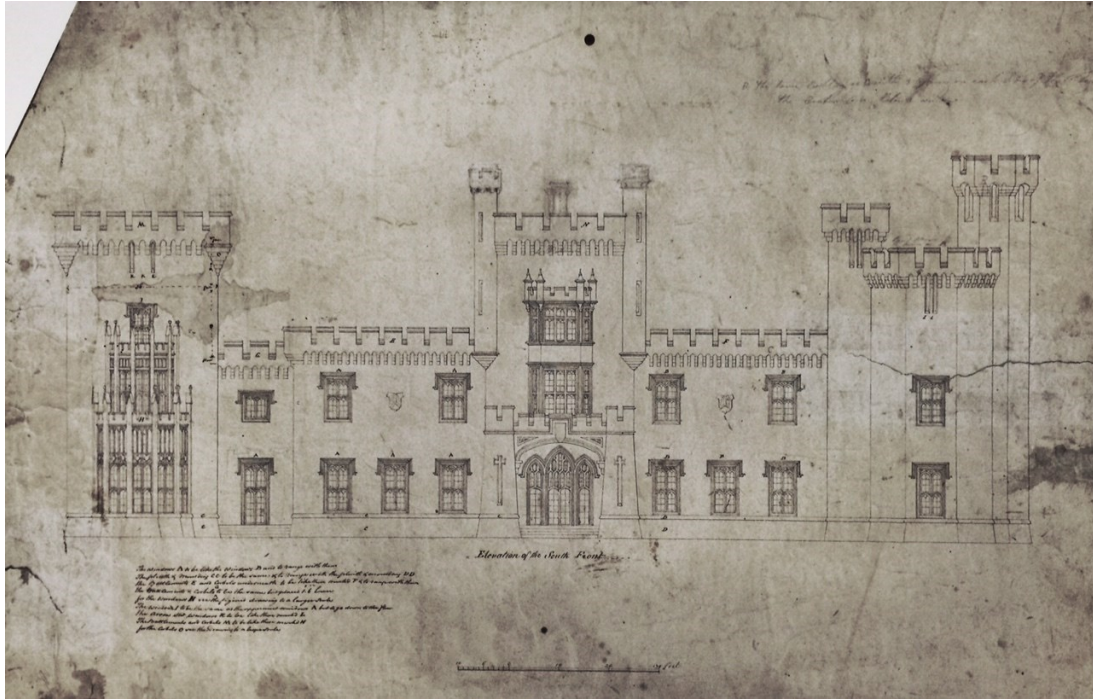


Figure 37: Elevation of the South Front, Ravensworth Castle. John Nash n.d., RIBA collection

John Nash began to practice as an architect in 1777 and developed amidst this shift in national affinity towards the Gothic. Nash was an esteemed choice for the Ravensworth commission having been appointed architect to the Surveyor General of Woods, Forests, Parks, and Chases in 1806 and thenceforth taking substantial commissions from the Prince Regent (King George IV from 1820) (Summerson 1980:56). This appointment resulted from a large body of work dating from 1777 (when his own architectural practice was founded; Tyack 2013:3) which was largely Picturesque in style. Nash's own house at East Cowes on the Isle of Wight was built in this style c.1798-1802 and was remarkably similar to Ravensworth Castle. Though there are no records of a visit to the Isle of Wight by the 5th Bt, East Cowes Castle was most certainly the major inspiration behind Ravensworth's final design (illustrated in Figure 38).

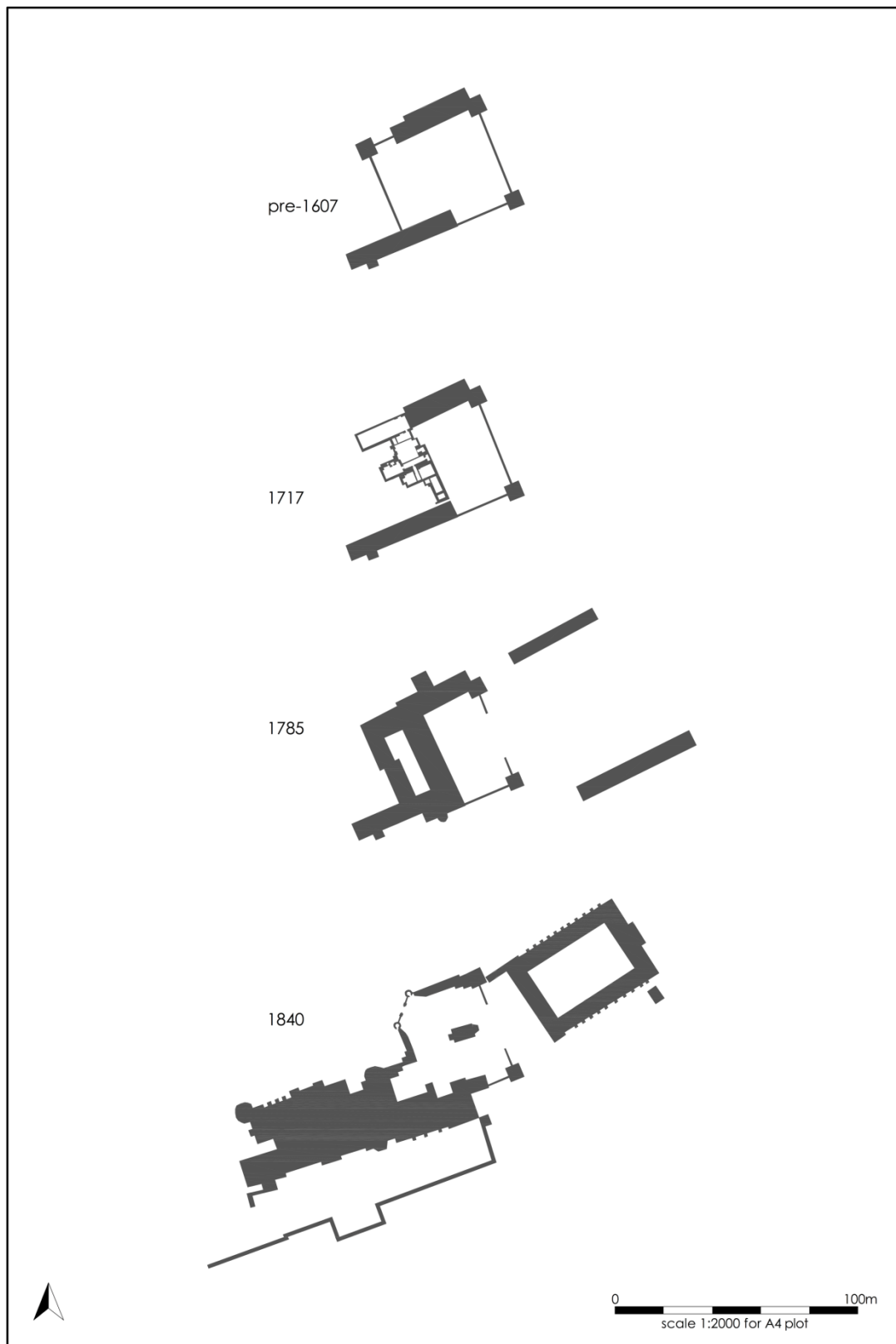


Figure 38: Architectural progression of Ravensworth Castle
 Showing interpretive sequence based on available historical and archaeological data
 Produced in partnership with Archaeological Services, University of Durham

Beyond the clear architectural parallels with other known structures, Ravensworth's redesign in the first half of the nineteenth century seems to represent well the significant shift in British architecture towards a more medieval notion of grandeur. Its design was one of a series of three “monster castles” by Nash based on a “gallery”-type plan, the others being Aqualate in Staffordshire and Caerhays in Cornwall (Summerson 1980:45-6; the new Ravensworth Castle had no less than twelve towers and stretched over 220 metres from its westernmost to easternmost ends). Though it is not appropriate to retrospectively describe the movement of cultural tastes in terms of precedent or reaction, Nash's design for the 1808 rebuild at Ravensworth followed a site-specific architectural history which can only be described as dynamic and piecemeal with each element of the structure c.1800 reflecting the reactions of specific tenants to their then prevailing cultural climates. This is perhaps the principal reason why Ravensworth serves to encapsulate the long eighteenth century so well. Though Ravensworth was always a primarily medieval structure, for the baronets following the 3rd Baronet the emerging tendencies towards naturalism and English antiquarianism dictated redesigns which ultimately amalgamated in a structure and landscape focused almost entirely on this aspect of its heritage. As Crook suggests, “Picturesque values and associationist aesthetics broke up the canonical harmonies of classicism” (Crook 1987:13), and returning to this chapter's introductory quote, “the principal source of grandeur in architecture is association” (Gérard 1759).

The 6th Bt clearly saw his tenure as an opportunity to redefine the Liddell family in the architectural landscape. Beyond consolidating the property holdings gleaned by his predecessors (discussed in the chapter to follow), his choices in architecture promoted the family as a major player both in the region and nationally and no doubt had a substantial impact on the revival of the title Baron Ravensworth. The nineteenth century Ravensworth Castle was an interpreted reincarnation of the ancient Ravenshelme Castle and though unconvincingly medieval to the modern (or perhaps even contemporary) eye, this Ravensworth was a dramatic statement of lineage and connectedness to an “ancient” pedigree. A modern effort to claim medieval.

Conclusions: Retaining Character

To acquire an estate and build upon its legacy was to create and ensure the status and posterity of a house (where the term “house” denotes a landed family). By continuing to update the physical presence of the family as a feature distinct in its immediate and wider landscapes, the occupier could create associations (Gérard 1759) with those architectures or families which held significant meaning while at the same time presenting his or her own family as one which possessed the necessary connectivity to those bodies dictating the prevailing trends of the period: “looking both forwards and backwards” (Johnson 1996:121). Throughout its seven-hundred-year architectural history, Ravensworth Castle has always been a fortress visible as such to those venturing northwards towards Newcastle. Though its medieval character has always been the first impression given to those admirers or visitors, this character has evolved over time to reflect contemporary innovations in engineering, domestic and

military demands, and aesthetic ideals for beauty and authority. These changes are reflected in its architecture, each phase of which has left a mark on the current property. This is perhaps Ravensworth's most defining and unique feature. Where the lion's share of its contemporaries, particularly in the eighteenth century, show a preference for erasing previous architectural works deemed outdated or antiquated, effectively cleansing the properties before reinvention occurred, Ravensworth retained its earliest elements through every successive rebuilding campaign as consistent links to a more ancient origin story than the family itself could boast.

This chapter has presented the most thorough description and interpretation of Ravensworth Castle's evolving architectural history to date, the results of which may then be appreciated within the context of the estate's immediate and surrounding landscapes (Chapter IV) and applied to discussions of contemporary architectural themes on the local (Chapter VI) and wider (Chapter VII) levels. Such themes serve to highlight the interpersonal relationships of those commissioning such works: relationships which simultaneously serve to expand the ultimate interpretation of the principal site. Beyond this focus on defining and explicating the stages of the complex's architectural development, the chapter has presented an argument for an evolving usage of the medieval components of the estate best exemplified in the dichotomy between the building initiatives of the 3rd and 4th Baronets Ravensworth.

By retaining ancient elements of the fabric and in fact promoting these as central to the image of the house as a whole (as seen in Bucks' 1728 view) while at the same time advocating for the inclusion of features both modern in the eighteenth century sense and associative with classical motifs, the 3rd Baronet effectively created a culture of architectural redefinition for the Liddells. This impetus towards architectural reflections of personal worth and status was accompanied by and indeed influential upon a competitive relationship with neighbouring landholders, specifically the Bowes family, the wider effects of which are a primary theme of this thesis and are discussed further in the chapters to follow. In the second significant remodelling of the house during the eighteenth century, the 4th Baronet's commissioning of "Gothic" additions served to highlight such a medieval character even further and reveal a dichotomy of intentions between the Baronets. This dichotomy played out at Ravensworth personifies a transition between classical and Gothic affinities which was brought to fruition in the early nineteenth century with the rebuilding of the house by the 5th Baronet in collaboration with the architect John Nash. In this sense, it may be argued that the 3rd Baronet's commissioning of modern elements to complement the impression of an ancient structure was the primary factor contributing to both the aforementioned culture of redefinition and a hoary yet progressive identity for the family.

The convergence of these two objectives is what defines the Ravensworth landscape and the aspirations of a family who held it from 1607 until 1910 when the Liddells were forced to remove to their accompanying estate at Eslington Park. Each iteration of this complex promoted the "riches and magnificence" (Gérard 1759) of the specific occupants who commissioned its reinventions where the

drive towards creating, improving, and sustaining lineage to present to fellow gentry families was reflected in the different if not evolving stances corresponding with the period-specific perspectives of the Baronets. That said, it is the medieval element, and quite literally the north and south towers, which carries through from the early seventeenth century to the beginning of the twentieth as a constant across the span of the family's tenure at Ravensworth.

CHAPTER VI

The Functionality of Landholding in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

*"Prometheus [...] was really no more than a Taylor,
Who, by his Art metamorphosed Mankind so,
that they appeared a new Species of Beings"*
The London Tradesman, 1747, quoted in McKendrick 1982:50

"One Family in Four Places"

Ravensworth Castle was for over three hundred years the undisputed centre of the Liddell family's physical presence in the landscape. This was a dynamic estate, intimately connected with the industry that nourished its success. It evolved alongside the economic and political gains and ultimate fall of the family: a narrative which is reflected in what remains of the buildings and parkland. Beyond the confines of their landholdings in the Team Valley and the region of their immediate coal working interests in the Parish of Whickham and Chapelry of Lamesley, acquisitions and improvements made by the 3rd and 4th Baronets in the early part of the eighteenth century provided visibility for the family in areas beyond the industrial Tyneside region. In order to protect and promote an image of success and capacity, it was necessary to operate and indeed be seen in multiple arenas which reflected the diverse components of their strategy of creating and sustaining authority as new gentry.

This idea of diversifying the family's landholdings can be seen as the vision of Sir Henry Liddell the 3rd Baronet (1644-1723) and it is therefore necessary to analyse these additional landholdings as a further stage in the contextual approach to historical archaeology employed by this thesis. Three of the four properties were (re)designed and/or rebuilt under his direct supervision. Though Newton Hall was

acquired from the Blakiston family in 1662 during his father's tenure as Baronet Ravensworth (cf. Bowes at Gibside who inherited Gibside from the Blakiston family with the marriage of Sir William Bowes to Elizabeth Blakiston in 1693), it was the 3rd Baronet who commissioned and supervised Newton Hall's rebuilding c.1717-20 and envisioned the redesigns of both Ravensworth Castle and Eslington Park as classical buildings with ancient foundations (SA WWM/Br/173 and 177). Having been raised in a family of Baronets who were active participants in gentry society in County Durham, the 3rd Baronet would have been exposed to grand local architecture from an early age. It was this exposure that would have informed Sir Henry Liddell's impressions of what constituted effective application and use of architecture as a means towards establishing presence and creating historical narrative.

Such inspiration was put to practical use in what can only be described as an "all-out" building campaign. Between the years 1717 and approximately 1728 the Liddell family were responsible for the redesign and construction of three separate properties, all of which would be noted by contemporary and future visitors for their contributions to the architectural landscape of the region. During this period in particular, as has been discussed in Chapter III, opportunities for increased profits from the coal industry, the fallout of the Jacobite Rebellions (particularly The Fifteen), and gainful support for Whiggism (either by design or occasion) each contributed to the family's resource and motivation in carrying out these projects. This campaign saw the introduction of the joiner and "craftsman-architect" Thomas Shirley (origin not known but active in County Durham and Newcastle at the time; most likely trained in York, cf. John Langstaffe and Robert Trollope, discussed below) where the collaborative relationship between patron and craftsman produced what may be considered the equivalent of the modern idea of an "architect" (Pears 2013; discussed below and at length in the chapter to follow).

Following on the success of acquisitions and building campaigns at Ravensworth Castle (c.1717-1728), Newton Hall (c.1717-1723), and Eslington Park (c.1715-20), the 4th Baronet extended the family's network of properties to London in 1735, effectively solidifying their presence within elite society and establishing a social and political presence in the capital. The acquisition of No.13 St. James's Square meant the Liddells could oversee and account for their affairs from locations specific to their diverse interests. Ravensworth Castle represented the "ancient" family seat in the County of Durham and place within the coal industry of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newton Hall provided an omniscient presence in the political, ecclesiastical, and commercial landscape of Durham City, Eslington Park (near Whittingham, Northumberland) offered the elegance and prestige of a secluded country mansion, and No.13 St. James's Square carried an advantage for obvious reasons of political oversight and social visibility during a period when construction and occupation of townhouses in the city was on the rise (see especially Grassby 1978, Stone 1980, Stone & Stone 1984, Earle 1989, and McKellar 1997). Each structure is presented and analysed here as they relate to the principal site and to the overall architectural agenda of the family.

Though their landholdings were indeed extensive, the Baronets Ravensworth were one family among many in a population of established and "new" gentry using grand architecture to define and distinguish themselves in particular landscapes. Though much of this chapter will focus on highlighting and deconstructing similarities between houses of different families, an understanding and appreciation of these buildings as fundamentally unique is a crucial point of the discussion. This "uniqueness" is best explained by the concept of the "Georgian Order" as coined by James Deetz in the 1970s, furthered by Mark Leone in the context of research in the Cheseapeake region (discussed at length in Chapter VI) and more recently by Matthew Johnson (2006), which impresses the idea of individualised consumption or "one pot / one person" (Brown III 2014) as a means to interpret late seventeenth and eighteenth century aristocratic material culture (see particularly Carson 1994). Beyond the increased occurrence of specialised room functions, this translates in buildings archaeology as an awareness of and appreciation for an individualised approach to architecture and landscape albeit operating within a "prescribed" language of form. As Dell Upton explains, "fashion is paradoxical: it is based economically on the mass consumption of widely available goods, but its rhetoric is built on the old aristocratic language of exclusivity and rigid class distinction" (Upton 1990:82). For the Liddell family and their contemporaries, the constitution of campaigns in design and building was dictated by this dichotomy of simultaneous adherence and distinction within a codified vernacular.

In keeping with the structure of the previous chapter, the organization of this chapter follows a methodology where archaeological case studies of relevant structures are divided into sections to correspond with the distinct architectural phases of Ravensworth Castle's various building campaigns (i.e. the specific agendas of the Baronets Ravensworth). In this manner, the initiatives of each Baronet may be appreciated as reflective of specific circumstances personified in the architectural choices which resulted. The chapter is divided into three larger sections, beginning with a discussion of the local architectural precedents to the 3rd Bt's building campaigns of the early eighteenth century which focuses on relevant extant structures as well as the culture of design in the seventeenth century. The chapter will then present and discuss these initiatives as well as the comparative sites which best inform understandings of the Liddells' landholdings, particularly as these pertain to competition between the coal barons of Tyneside (namely the Liddells and Bowes). This section is followed by an in-depth discussion of the Gothic "initiatives" of the 4th Bt presented in the previous chapter in conjunction with the building of the family's townhouse in London in a classical language, where the dichotomy of Gothic and classical architectural devices discussed in the previous chapter represents a genuine shift in the roles of these architectures within elite housing culture. This portion of the chapter deals additionally with the genesis of the Gothic revivalist movement in the same manner as it reflected the British political landscape of the eighteenth century, paying particular attention to the family(s) involvement in Whiggism and the associated architectural agendas.

The Architectural Context of the Late Seventeenth Century

In reading the architectural history of County Durham, it is clear that a significant rebuilding of sorts occurred in the middle to later seventeenth century following the Civil War: one which would have been witnessed by the 3rd Baronet (b.1644) from an early age. In this section, a selection of houses will be described and related to each other in terms of their contributions to the architectural climate of the region. These houses laid the groundwork for a northern Palladian movement to which the 3rd Bt would eventually make his contribution. This section of the chapter will address the significant architectural developments and designers occurring in the period immediately preceding the tenure of Sir Henry Liddell as 3rd Baronet Ravensworth during which time he would have been exposed to a changing architectural landscape in County Durham. An understanding of this earlier architecture of the seventeenth century is fundamental to any true appreciation of the 3rd Bt's personal taste, where this thesis will argue that such taste and its realisations in the first three decades of the eighteenth century was born of a local, associationist architecture which emphasised the application of a Palladian language yet adhered to the foundational and structural constraints of existing buildings, administering then modern technology to more ancient fabric.

The most prominent "architects" active in Durham and Northumberland during this period were John Langstaffe and Robert Trollope. Both were born and trained in the northern counties. Langstaffe (1622-94) was master mason of Bishop Auckland and held a number of important commissions in County Durham including the classical design of Sir Arthur Haselrigg's house at Auckland (Bishop Cosin later demolished Haselrigg's house and rebuilt the medieval Bishop's Palace; see Green 2016) and the Palatine buildings of Palace Green, Durham City (Green 2000:285). Trollope (d.1686) was born and trained in York and moved to Newcastle in the 1650s (Colvin 1995:837-8) where he worked on a number of projects (e.g. Newcastle Guildhall c.1655-8). Discussion will focus on Trollope's body of work as its parallels with Ravensworth are stronger. These include Capheaton (Swinburne family, rebuilt 1667-70), Eshott (Carr family, built 1660), Callaly (Clavering family, rebuilt 1676, remodelled 1707 by an unknown architect), and Netherwitton (Thornton family, built 1685; Trevelyan from 1772), all of which contain features discernible as precedents to structures of the post-Rebellion period. In addition to these houses of Trollope's design, late seventeenth century work at Wallington (Blackett family, rebuilt 1688, architect unknown; rebuilt 1738 by Daniel Garrett) shall be examined as a likely precedent of Ravensworth Castle. By highlighting each of these local structures of the later part of the seventeenth century, a framework for the 3rd Bt's inspirations and aspirations among the estates of existing gentry may be built and applied to later discussions of his personal endeavours into architecture and the legacy of such structures in the family's later architectural history and that of the region as a whole.

The style Trollope developed while training at York, a centre for architecture and architectural training for the northern counties during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, can be defined by its application of classical features to fairly simple rectangular buildings, where the structures do not follow

the classical orders of architecture yet incorporate classical themes (e.g. ionic pilasters). While the notably grandiose decoration of these structures differentiates them from later initiatives of the early eighteenth century, the focus on local stone framed by quoins and the lack of *piano nobles* are characteristics which carried through to the 1720s. Capheaton Hall is by far the furthest removed from Ravensworth Castle and the other building initiatives of the 1720s, with its colossal pilasters dividing the three garden-facing fronts into bays, yet its opposite face shows a more modest constitution. On this side the elevation is split by a double string course and framed by simple quoining and has a modest doric porch. The roof is quite steeply pitched and has two original chimneys, similar to that found at Ravensworth c.1728. The flanking wings of the house show a similar architecture with little in the way of ornamentation.

Netherwitton Hall (eight miles west of Morpeth, Northumberland, c.1685) is highly derivative from the earlier Eshott Hall (nine miles north of Morpeth, c.1660), applying nearly all of its distinctive features to a slightly larger house. These include the split pediments of the windows, characteristic quoining, balustraded roof, and simple porch. Besides the change from an ionic to an enclosed, doric style for the porch, the only major difference between the two houses is the application of sash window technology. While Eshott has seven modestly-arranged windows, the principal front of Netherwitton crams in no less than twenty sash windows, each with six individual panes. From the 1670s the sash window became increasingly common as a tool for showcasing an awareness of the latest technology, replacing the more traditional casement window (Louw & Crayford 1998). Netherwitton and Eshott demonstrate this evolution and in the case of the later house, the Thornton family commissioned a design which places nearly all emphasis on the windows themselves. This would have made for a dramatic statement of wealth, and as windows would have been imported from London, would have boasted an association with the élite strata of the period.

Callaly Castle (ten miles east of Alnwick, Northumberland; Figure 39) is another fine example of this application of technology and presents a number of other points to consider. While there has been a castle here since at least 1415 when it was first mentioned as belonging to Sir John Clavering (Graham 1976:92), the seventeenth century saw two major modernisations of the structure. The first of these came in 1619 with mostly internal modifications while the second in 1676 was a substantial rebuilding of the southeast wing as the main entrance to the house with a fine entrance door. The rebuilding may be assigned to Trollope's hand as "the rich and finely carved stonework is typical of his work" (Graham 1976:92). The centre is flanked by two projecting sections and features four twelve-pane sash windows. These windows have split pediments in typical Trollope fashion (e.g. Eshott and Netherwitton). The third storey has four square windows, the pediments of which may have been lost when Trollope's original cornice was replaced in 1749 (Pevsner et al 1992:209).



Figure 39: Callaly Castle from the southeast, modifications c.1676 by Robert Trollope
 Photograph courtesy Winton 2015

While at first glance this portion of the house may appear to be entirely the product of the seventeenth century, the western of the two projecting sections is actually a medieval pele tower of fourteenth or fifteenth century construction (Faulkner & Lowery 1996), with the south and east walls of this section roughly 2m thick. Similar thicknesses are found in the corresponding eastern section (over a meter thick) (Pevsner et al 1992:209-210). While a number of internal features (e.g. fireplaces) are of later periods, this southeastern portion of the castle seems to be comprised of much earlier medieval structures than the seventeenth and eighteenth century refacing would suggest. This concept of refacing provides a crucial link with later architectural endeavours, including those at Ravensworth Castle, and has been discussed in the previous chapter.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the elevation is the centre doorway which is rather oddly squished between the two centre windows. The doorway has elements of the corinthian order and may have been partially recycled from the earlier phase (Pevsner et al 1992:209). In any case, it has been squeezed so closely between the windows that the arrangement would suggest an effort to cram as many windows as possible into a redesigned front of a much earlier core (cf. irregularity in Ravensworth's east front). In much the same manner as seen at Netherwitton, the principal front of the structure was designed with first impressions in mind. At Callaly, the new designation of a principal front meant the visitor would have been directed through the landscape to this point and greeted by this display of sash window technology. Sashes could well have been installed at a later date, as these would

be particularly early examples of such, yet the design and decoration of the windows are unmistakably Trollope's.



Figure 40: Wallington Hall, west front, c.1688, architect unknown
<http://www.theheartofnorthumberland.co.uk/wallington.html>, copyright obtained from webmaster

Of all of these examples, the late seventeenth century portions of Wallington Hall, ten miles west of Morpeth, Northumberland, are the most similar to those built at Ravensworth Castle in the early eighteenth century. The majority of the present house was constructed from 1688 for Sir William Blackett (an MP for Newcastle c.1673-1680 and merchant with extensive coal and lead interests, also of Anderson Place from 1675; Roberts 2006:50) and later refaced on the southern side from 1727 onwards (mostly c.1745) to a design by Daniel Garrett (Pevsner 1999:601). While the architect for the earlier building campaign is unknown, the three elevations remaining from this period bear designs which seem to bridge a gap between Trollope's work and that completed during the period of increased building activity following the Jacobite Rebellions. Paying particular attention to the west side (Figure 40), this front has six bays of sash windows with plain surrounds (the central two on the first floor can be used as doorways) with projecting sections on either side which house two bays each. A plain parapet encloses a steeply pitched roof and this front (as on the other fronts) is served by two chimneys. This is perhaps the best example of a Palladian language for building being applied in a regional context (in this case, County Durham and Northumberland; cf. applications of "Georgian Order" architecture in other regional contexts, e.g. the Chesapeake colonies, discussed in Chapter VII) within the confines of an existing medieval structure (the late seventeenth century hall was rebuilt around the medieval pele tower of the Fenwick family), where certain elements of then fashionable classical forms are inserted upon the earlier fabric thus rendering the structure a completely unique interpretation of a classical ideal.

These buildings of the seventeenth century laid a baseline for later architectural developments which would combine to form a style for the region, distinct from those of the North West, Yorkshire, and Scotland. The idea of a “Georgian Order” does not necessarily correspond with a rubric for architectural expression of social and/or political power but rather indicates a set of common themes which may be applied and adapted to suit the specific regional context (see Green 2010). In the cases of seventeenth and later eighteenth century County Durham and Northumberland, such structures were rectangular unless incorporating earlier structures though even in these cases are relatively plain in their ground plans. None made use of a *piano nobile*, electing instead to place the main entrance at the level of the approach. For the Trollope structures, classical details appear to have been thrown onto the buildings rather than incorporated as complementary elements. These details seem to distract from the surrounding landscape, standing unsympathetically apart from the green space which surrounds them, though this is an issue which would be resolved by the later shift towards more naturalistic experiences of estate architecture. Wallington's architect employs no decoration whatsoever save for spherical trophies at each angle of the parapet and besides these decorations, the central six-bay section of its west face bears a nearly identical resemblance to the design of Ravensworth's Palladian east front. In comparing these structures, it is possible to see features of Trollope's style, particularly the plans themselves, being echoed at Wallington which in turn may have served as inspiration for Ravensworth and its contemporaries (e.g. Newton Hall, Eslington, and Streatlam). In this manner, a northern style for estate building is defined by its retention of the seventeenth century rectangular front with rusticated quoins and no *piano nobile* and subsequent removal of nearly all decoration.

Architectural Initiatives during the Tenure of the 3rd Bt Ravensworth

The period c.1717-1730 has been named by this thesis as the most influential upon the architectural climate associated with the coal barons of Tyneside. It was during this period following “The Fifteen” (see Gooch 1995; discussed in Chapter III), the Hanoverian succession of 1716, and alongside the rise and success of Whiggism that the Liddell family ventured to improve and extend their presence in the industrial, social, and political landscapes of the region by commissioning the expansion and elaboration of their architectural holdings apace with the expanding interests of other competing families (namely the Bowes of Streatlam and Gibside). While the contemporary architectural development of the principal site of this thesis has been discussed in detail in the previous chapter, the period saw similar and simultaneous developments at Newton Hall (Framwellgate Moor, Durham City) and Eslington Park (Whittingham, Northumberland). Such ventures may be seen as the realisation of a personal and regional style which built upon the inspirations of later seventeenth century estate architecture of Durham gentry discussed in the previous section. This section shall present case studies of the aforementioned structures redesigned during the tenure of the 3rd Baronet Ravensworth in an effort to properly contextualise campaigns at the principal site and firmly establish the concept of the Liddell family as one family in four places. Added to the campaigns of the Liddells is a case study of Streatlam Castle which reinforces the argument made here that all industrial, political, and architectural

endeavours of the Liddell family are better understood in comparison with those of the Bowes. The Bowes estate at Gibside (acquired from the Blakiston family c.1713) is excluded from this section since contemporary building campaigns here were primarily landscape-based and have been discussed at length in Chapter IV.

Newton Hall

Just under sixty years after the Liddell family acquired the castle and parkland at Ravensworth and exactly twenty years after the Baronetcy Ravensworth was established, Sir Thomas Liddell 2nd Bt purchased the manor of Newton Hall. This was the second property of a family whose landed history was less than a century old and represents the first stage in a narrative of strategic property acquisitions that would reflect the economic, political, and indeed social growth of the Liddells. While nothing is known of the character of the house prior to the redevelopment c.1717, this information is not the focus of this thesis. Rather, it is far more important to appreciate the location of this second estate as it relates to the wider concept of place in landscape as addressed in Chapter IV and the character of the architecture as influenced by regional precedents. Beyond this, Newton Hall and Ravensworth Castle share a common "craftsman-architect," as opposed to an "artist-architect" (e.g. Vanbrugh) where the craftsman realises the cooperative vision of himself and the patron(s) instead of entrusting local craftsmen to realise a predesigned set of elevations (this distinction is discussed at length in Pears 2013, particularly as it relates to the creation of a northern "architect" identity and in Chapter VII in a comparative look at architectural patronage among new gentry in the colonial Chesapeake region). Combined with the relative availability of original plans and elevations for the house, this concept as played out at Newton Hall c.1717 provides the ideal opportunity for explorations of the realised inspiration of the 3rd Bt and its implications for interpreting the c.1717-1728 phase of architectural redesign at the principal site.

Newton Hall was acquired by the Liddell family in 1662, before which the estate had been owned by the Abbot of Peterborough from at least 1183 (the first mentioning, Bolden Book; Fordyce 1857:386), the Bowes family from at least 1337, an Anthony Middleton from 1565, and by the Blakiston family from 1581 (Roberts 2003). According to seventeenth century records, Henry Liddell (who would become the 3rd Baronet) was referenced as the occupier of this property from at least 1683 when he is referred to as Henry Liddell of the City of Durham and in 1684/5 as "Henry Liddell of Newton, Esq., son and heir of Sir Thomas Lyddell of Ravensworth Castle, Baronet" (DRO D/CG 16/581, 17 January 1683/4; D/CG 16/583, 2 February 1684/5; Fordyce pushes Henry Liddell's occupancy of the estate back to 1676, 1857:386). By 1689 when he was named High Sheriff of County Durham (Mosley 2003), the family had held Newton for some twenty-seven years and had evidently carved out a place for themselves within Durham City society. Henry Liddell ceased to reside at Newton from 1694 (Fordyce 1857:386) when he assumed the Baronetcy and relocated to the family seat at Ravensworth. The property was kept by the family for the remainder of the eighteenth century, occupied by Thomas Liddell (brother of Sir Henry

Liddell 4th Bt) from 1749-72 and ultimately sold to William Russell of Brancepeth Castle for £90,000 in the early nineteenth century (Fordyce 1857:386).

The entirety of the house and its landscaped gardens (Figure 17) were taken down in the first half of the twentieth century and supplanted by a large housing development which takes its name from the estate. All that remains are a few fragments of the former outbuildings and estate walls and the fish pond, now drained, yet in the years immediately following The Fifteen this was the site of a major building project directed by the 3rd Baronet and realised by the joiner Thomas Shirley (while biographical evidence is lacking for Shirley, he was active in County Durham and Northumberland during this period and likely trained at York, as mentioned above; SA WWM/Br/173:7 and 174:2, 4; Colvin 1995:866). Fortunately for this thesis, much of the ongoing design process for Newton Hall is recorded in a collection of letters from the 3rd Baronet to his son, John Bright of Badsworth, Yorkshire (who took his mother's maiden name when inheriting land at Badsworth, as explained in Chapter IV). The discovery of this collection led to an extensive study of the property carried out by Martin Roberts, then of Durham City Council Architects' Department, which has largely informed this section of the thesis and provides a baseline from which to model the present investigative effort for Ravensworth.

In terms of other source material, the documentary record for Newton Hall before its eighteenth century rebuilding does not shed light on the character of the actual building(s). The Surtees Society's Wills and Inventories for Durham does not make mention of the estate. Judging by plans of the house found in the Sheffield Archives collection, however, it is unlikely any earlier house was salvaged during construction in 1717. All walls were fairly thin save for those carrying fireplaces, indicating that the former house may have been more of a rambling pile of medieval fabric and thus warranting total demolition (Roberts 2015, personal communication). A surviving final builder's account of 5 November 1717 provides the likely date for the beginning of eighteenth century work at the site (SA WWM/Br/177:6). Construction was ongoing up until at least 1723 (the death of the 3rd Bt; SA WWM/Br/173:10, 10 August 1723, where the 3rd Bt discusses details of construction even while bedridden). The house itself is far more decorated than that which was built at Ravensworth and differs from the latter in a number of ways. Nonetheless, Newton Hall's architectural history is by far the best understood of Thomas Shirley's small body of large-scale work and the ongoing discussions between the 3rd Baronet and his son highlight a process of design which was echoed at Ravensworth.

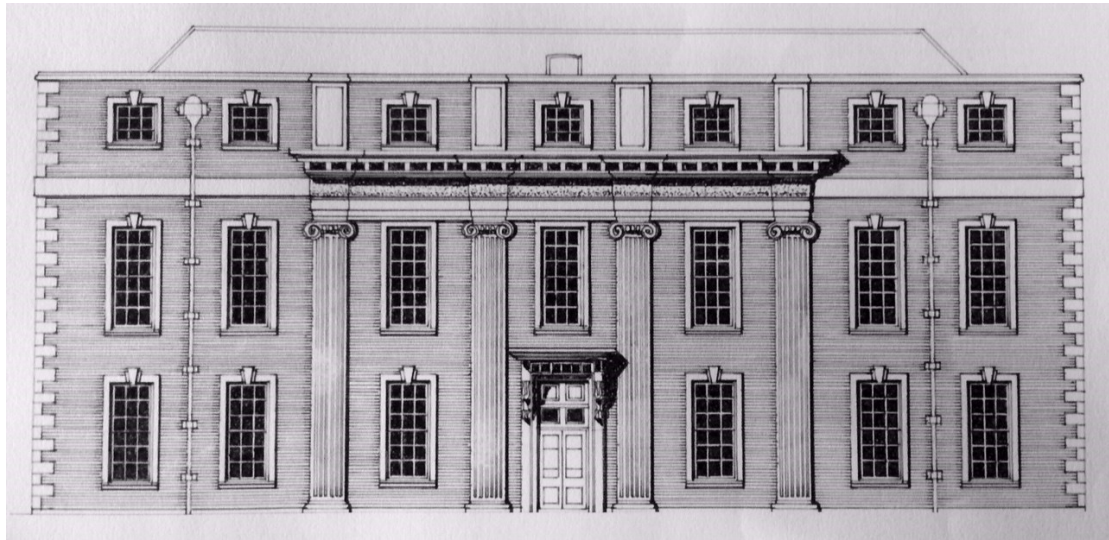


Figure 41: West front of Newton Hall, reconstruction by Martin Roberts
Personal walking tour materials, obtained with permission



Figure 42: Newton Hall c.1920 (DRO DR04979)

Just before its demolition in 1926, Newton Hall was largely unchanged since the early eighteenth century save for an attic floor which was added in the 1750s and distinguished by a thick string course (Figure 41 and Figure 42). The principal west front was two storeys with seven bays, the central three of which were enclosed by four elegantly-designed ionic pilasters (cf. Capheaton, where similarly oversized pilasters were used) above which was a frieze and cornice, not returning on the string course but rather sitting above it. The early eighteenth century plans show that these four pilasters were originally designed as just two (Figure 43) though all four were likely built in the first instance. These two figures also serve as good indicators of the development of the house's fenestration where the earlier elevation

does not include sash windows but rather the mullion and transom type. Installation of sashes was in fact the final phase of Newton Hall's construction, an afterthought of sorts, as a letter from the 3rd Bt in January (possibly June or July, marked as "25 Ja[u?]ny") of 1723 requests proper reinsertion of six windows from London and production of additional windows "if proper materials and workmen are to be found in the country" (SA WWM/Br/173:9), following shoddy insertion in the first instance. These first six windows from London which had proved defective upon arrival in Durham were placed at the back of the house and a local craftsman (a Mr Pomroy) was hired to manufacture the windows for the main west front and remaining fronts (SA WWM/Br/173:5; see also Louw & Crayford 1998:122).

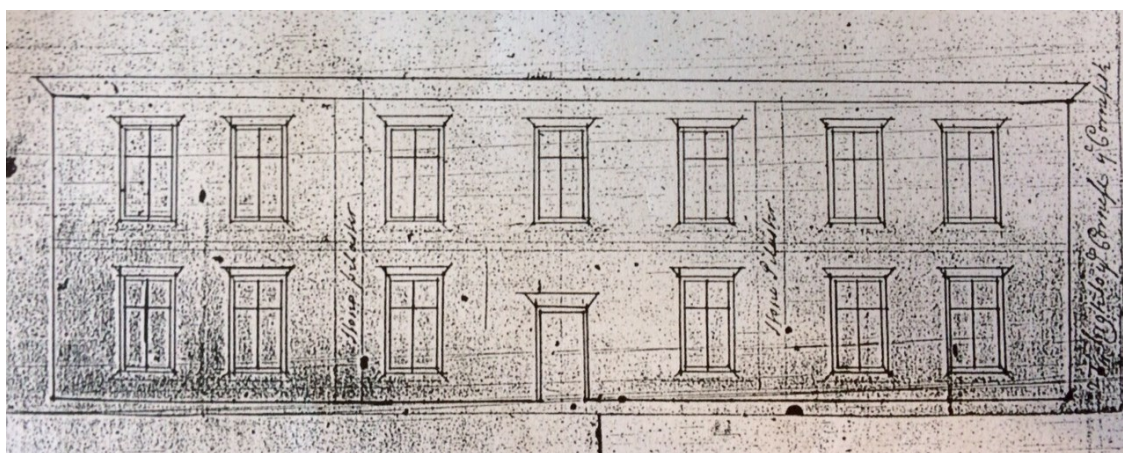


Figure 43: Newton Hall, west elevation c.1717 (SA WWM/Br/177:9)

Newton Hall was in fact one of the earliest houses in Durham City to have sash windows (Roberts 2003:138), after Croxdale Hall where sash windows were inserted c.1703 (DRO D/Sa/E 630-631, after Green 1998:410; Tudhoe Hall also had sash windows installed during rebuilding c.1705-1729; 1998:36), and the installation of such was "considered to be joiners' rather than carpenters' work" (Louw & Crayford 1998:120). While production of crown glass did not reach Tyneside until 1729 when the Newcastle Broad and Crown Glass Company was founded (Ross 1982:49, Welford 2010:112), local production may have preceded this in smaller manufactories which Liddell and Bright (and Pomroy) may have employed. At Newton Hall, the windows were of eighteen lights each (the prevailing style during this period) and had simple surrounds, plain in the centre three of the second storey and decorated only with keystones in all other openings. The doorway appears to have remained constant with a decorated cornice supported by consoles, though this is assuming simplification in the 1717 elevation (Figure 43).

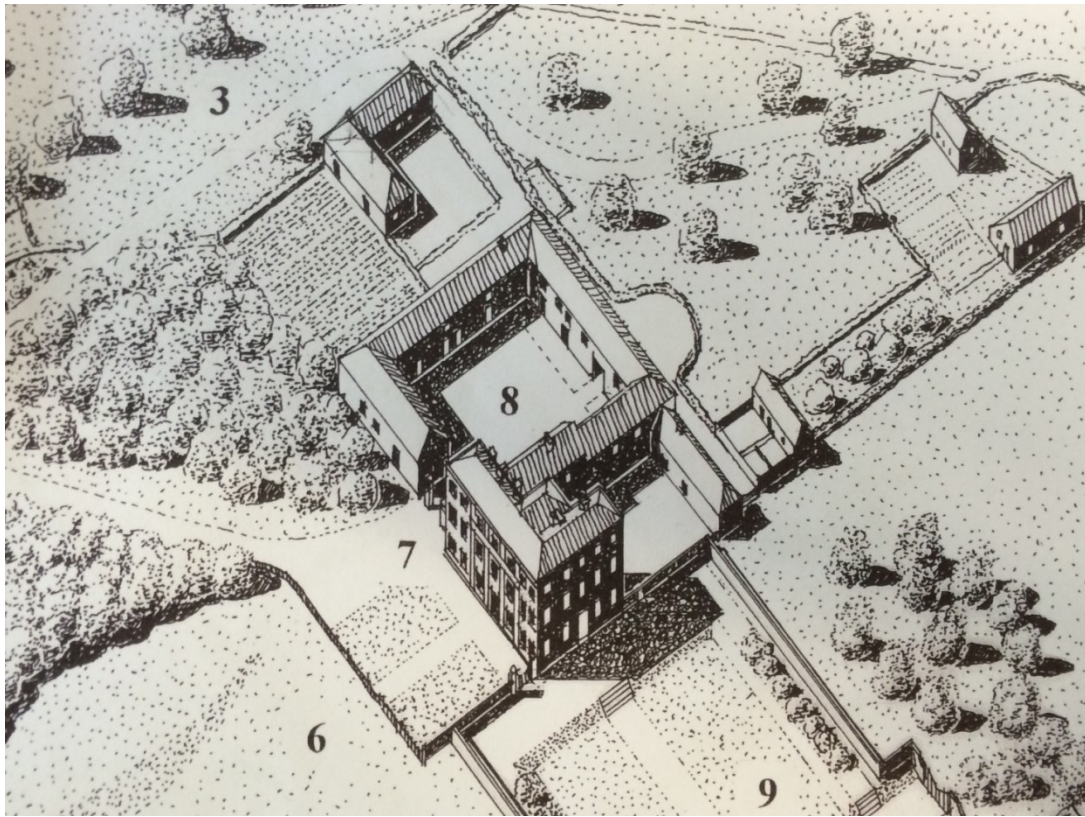


Figure 44: Newton Hall from the southwest, reconstruction by Martin Roberts based on OS 1857
Personal walking tour materials, obtained with permission

The entire front is encased by rusticated quoins and sits on a low plinth (cf. Eslington and Ravensworth). Removing the attic floor from the reconstructed elevation, a hipped roof is clear to see and its proportion comparable to those at Eslington and Ravensworth. This may originally have sat on an eaves cornice as the 1717 elevation would suggest. The plan of the remaining parts of the house (Figure 44) is not entirely relevant for the purposes of this thesis but can be described as an L plan of sorts with the southern face opening onto the walled parterre garden which is discussed at length in Chapter IV.

By the time Newton Hall's sash windows were fitted, thus completing the construction of the house, the Liddells were one family in three places, having acquired Eslington Park in 1719. For Newton in particular, this translated to a not-before-held level of visibility for the family, exaggerated in Bucks' 1723 South-East Prospect of the City of Durham from Maiden Castle Hill where the new building and parterre garden feature prominently on their hill overlooking the city (DUL SD 00375-6). Conversely, Durham Cathedral was easily viewed from the hill where the Hall perched: an important statement of connectedness and association with what was then and remains the most important symbol of the Palatinate. Even in this period of illness immediately before his death (SA WWM/Br/173:10; 10 August 1723, describes lack of appetite, fever, and insomnia), the 3rd Baronet made sure his vision for a dignified house in Durham was realised.

Residence in Durham was crucial for the landed family of the eighteenth century and, to bring back the Liddells' most important competitor, the Bowes family understood this as well. Cuthbert Bowes had purchased property in the city in 1689 just over twenty years after the Liddells, thereafter redeveloping part of South Bailey to create a single family home from what was before a subdivided group of smaller residences. Residing in South Bailey was a most prestigious statement in this period, as it is today. This street was home to the highest classes of country and professional gentry in County Durham, where unifying previously divided tenements "represent[ed] an assertion of gentry lineage and long-standing place in Durham society" (Green 2004:74). To further the comparative model for these two families, in 1736 Betty Bowes purchased a plot in the top of Elvet (now Old Elvet) to build an additional family residence, commissioning a new architect-designed building which was built from 1739 (later incorporated into the c.1770s structure that survives at present as the Royal County Hotel; Green 2004), less than fifteen years after Newton Hall's redesign was completed. This city residence would thenceforth be used as a nucleus of political activities for the family, particularly those of George Bowes (Durham Cathedral Dean and Chapter Library, Sharp MSS 125). The same might be said of Newton Hall: a property which improved the family's reputation locally and, perhaps more importantly, in the eyes of their competitor(s).

Unlike Newton Hall, Ravensworth Castle did not feature pilasters, decorated window surrounds, nor an elaborate cornice above the second storey, though beyond these details the buildings are essentially identical. In fact, Ravensworth's Palladian front quite closely resembles the initial design for Newton (Figure 43) save for the presumptive pilasters surrounding the central set of windows (later realised as four pilasters). While both structures placed emphasis on symmetry and the innovative aesthetic of the sash window, Newton Hall's principal front is decidedly more elaborate than its contemporary counterpart on Tyneside. It is not possible to definitively prescribe an eighteenth century rationale behind this choice, though in this manner Newton Hall may be more closely associated with Trollope's body of work in the later part of the seventeenth century where Ravensworth was aligned with an unornamented approach to design focused on innovation (i.e. sash windows) rather than decoration (cf. Wallington, discussed above). It is reasonable, however, to deconstruct the combination of the themes in Ravensworth's approach. Where Newton Hall did not have a medieval component to its design, Ravensworth's character as a house is synthesised entirely in its being a collection, or amalgamation, of disparate periods in English architecture. Newton Hall stands alone in its landscape as a wholly eighteenth century construction, where any reconstruction or refacing of Ravensworth Castle's primary facade must have, or rather was chosen to have, a relationship with existing themes. In this manner, the relative starkness and purity of form of its Palladian front as compared with that of Newton Hall may be interpreted as a deliberate opposition to the medieval quadrangular castle which encases it.

Eslington Park

When the 3rd Baronet Ravensworth purchased Eslington Park near Whittingham, Northumberland, from the Crown Commissioners in 1719, he was taking control of an estate that had been an important feature of the local landscape of the Borderlands for over seven hundred years. This was the third "ancient" property for the Liddells after Ravensworth and the second major acquisition as part of the family's diversification of landholdings, after acquiring Newton Hall from the Blakiston family in 1662. In choosing to purchase Eslington, the Baronet was displaying the extent of his influence while simultaneously further rooting his family in local aristocratic history. This was an important move on the family's part and one which was echoed in the competing pursuits of their closest ally and rival, the Bowes family of Streatlam and Gibside. In dividing the estate into multiple locations, Eslington being the more secluded house compared with the industrially-celebrant Ravensworth and politically-participatory Newton, the Liddells' third house was an ideal place to showcase a spatial exclusivity and an architectural consciousness. That said, the house itself differs little architecturally from the Ravensworth Castle of the eighteenth century and as such is particularly valuable to this thesis as a reflection of the 3rd Baronet's unique architectural vision for the landholdings of his family. There is no known architect nor have records of the design process survived, yet close comparative examination in this thesis may well provide these missing details and bolster the link between Eslington and its contemporaries. It is Ravensworth's most closely related contemporary, and due to its isolation and continued occupation by the Baronry up to the present day, the house survives almost entirely unmodified since the early eighteenth century.

Historically, Eslington Park (Figure 45) had belonged to a number of important local families before it passed from the Collingwoods to the Liddells in the early eighteenth century. The earliest record mentioning the estate, or manor, is the Pipe Rolls of 7th Henry II (1161) where an Alan de Essinton is mentioned as owning property there (Dixon 1895:80-81). After this it was recorded in 1293 that a John de Eslington held "Esselinton maner" (Hodgson 1858:III, 50). In terms of the building itself, the first mention of a fortress on the site was in 1335 when Robert Eslington was granted license to crenellate a structure on the property (Bates 1891:9). No further details of this structure are known at present.

The manor and structure were next in the possession of the Hesilrigg family from at least 1362 (Hodgson 1858:I, 80-81). The Hesilriggs owned the property for nearly two hundred years before leasing and then selling it to the Collingwoods by at least 1538 and at least 1544, respectively. The earliest mentioning of the Collingwood name in this context is found in Leland's *Itinerary* of 1538 in which it is stated that "Hasilrig of Northamptonshire hath about a. 50. Li. lande in Northumberland And Esselington wher is a pratie pile is Hasilrigges; and one of the Colinwooddes dwellith now in it and hath the ouer site of his landes" (Border Holds, v.III, p.25, cited in Dixon 1895:82). From 1544, however, Eslington was the family seat of the Collingwood family and would remain as such until the Liddells made their purchase (Hodgson 1858:III, lxx-i).

The Collingwoods were historically and remained in the eighteenth century staunch Roman Catholics and Jacobites. As discussed in Chapter III, the Jacobite Rising of 1715 had a substantial and lasting effect on northern gentry culture, particularly as it coincided with a spike in private mercantile profits. George Collingwood was a leader on many campaigns and skirmishes during the Rising and was executed in Liverpool in February of 1716 (Patten 1745:110). The estate at Eslington was forfeited to the Crown and two years later made available for purchase (Gooch 1995:103). This situation was not at all uncommon during the period in question and was a major factor contributing to the rise in property acquisitions among mercantile and early industrial families. Below is the description of the estate as it was advertised in February of 1718:

Particular and Rental of the Estate late of George Collingwood, in the County of Northumberland. To be Sold at Essex-House in Essex-Street, on Friday the Thirteenth of February next, at Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon. Large Stone House sash'd, with Coach-House, Stables, &c. A Garden well wall'd and planted, with an Orchard, and other Conveniences, fit for a Gentleman. (Dixon 1895:98)

On the 28th of May 1719, Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt Ravensworth was recorded as officially purchasing the estate and buildings of Eslington Park. The declaration of such is reproduced below.

To the High Sheriff of the County of Northumberland: In pursuance of an Act of Parliament Intituled an Act for vesting the Forfeited Estates in Great Britain and Ireland in Trustees, to be sold for the use of the Publick. And for giving Relief to Lawfull Creditors by Determining the Claims and for the more Effectual bringing into the respective Exchequers the Rents and Profits of the said Estates till sold. We Commikssioners & trustees in the said Act named Do hereby Require and Comand you to put Sir Henry Liddell of Ravensworth Castle in the Co. of Durham, Bart., into the possession of the Mannors of Eslington, Whittingham, Thorton & Barton, and the Messuages, Lands & Tenements & Hereditaments late of George Collingwood Esq. attainted of High Treason, lying in Eslington, Whittingham, Thorton & Barton, in the said County of Northumberland, sold and conveyed by us, or some of us to the said Sir Henry Liddell & his heirs by Indenture of Bargain & Sale.

(28th May 1719, Copy of Commissioners Precept to Sheriff of Northumberland to deliver Sir Henry Liddell Possession; cited in Dixon 1895:97)

Bearing these two documents in mind and comparing alternative accounts, the precise sequence of events appears ambiguous. According to Pevsner's guide the redesign of Eslington occurred c.1715-1720 (Pevsner et al 1992:272) which would indicate construction before the estate was officially purchased by Liddell but after Collingwood had been executed. This seems unlikely as Dixon's 1895 history of Whittingham reproduces a number of documents pointing to Eslington's purchase in 1719, redesign beginning c.1720, and completion at least by the end of that decade. Horsley describes the property in his *Northumberland*, written c.1729-30:

Eslington stands also close by this river [Aln]. It is a Pleasant seat, and has been just now rebuilt by Sir Henry Liddell, the present owner of the estate. It had long been the seat of the Collingwoods, but Mr Collingwood, the late proprietor of the estate, lost both it and his life by

being unhappily concerned in the insurrection against his late Majesty King George (Horsley 1858:53).

This sequence would indicate that the advertisement for the house issued in 1718 referred to the Collingwood house and that the presence of sash windows in this earlier house (Dixon 1895:98) should not be confused with the 3rd Baronet's redesign which happened to feature, and indeed highlight, sash windows in its principal fronts.

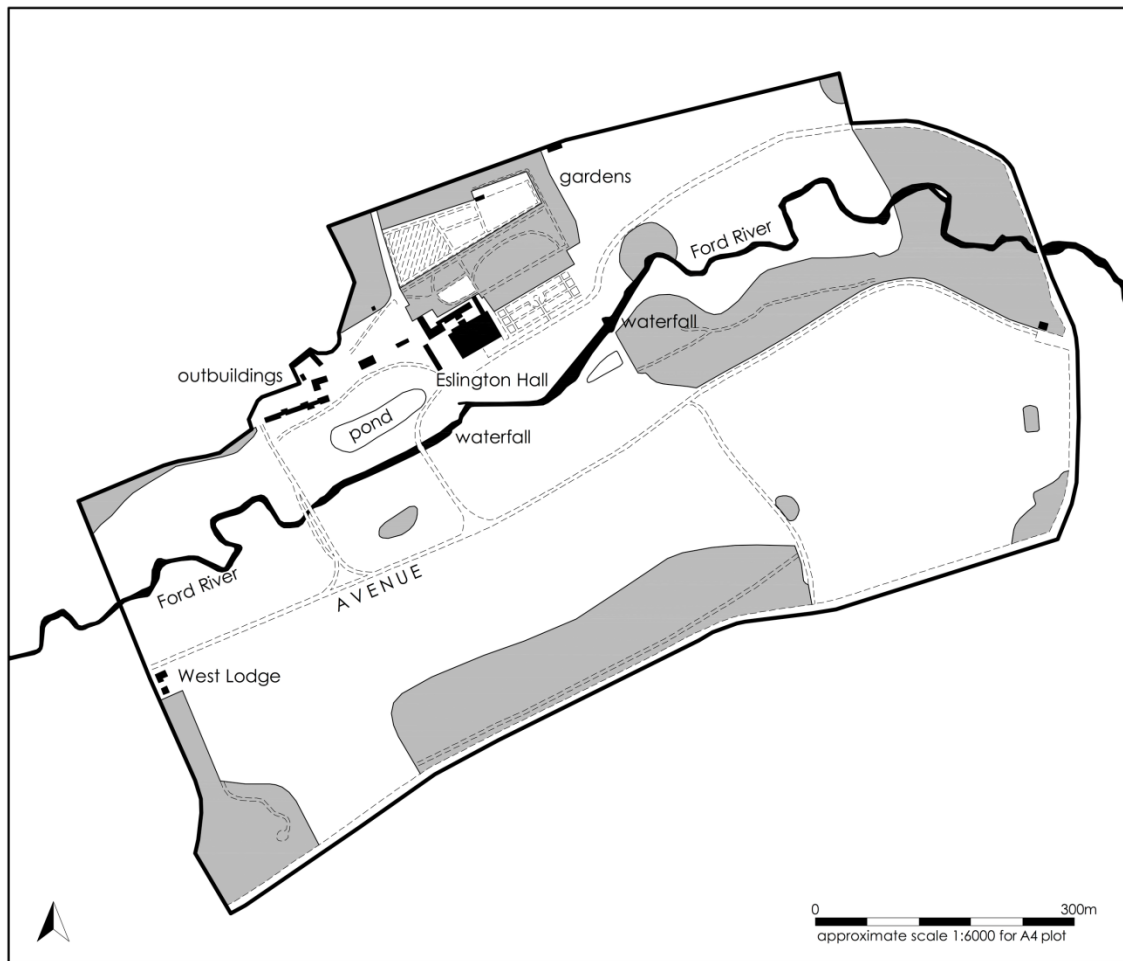


Figure 45: Eslington Park, reconstruction of eighteenth century estate
Produced in partnership with Archaeological Services, University of Durham

Most fortunately for the purposes of this thesis, the house at Eslington survives at present almost entirely unchanged since the 3rd Baronet's redesign in the early eighteenth century. Though it remains uncertain as to how much of the building was the direct result of the Liddell family's patronage, the building itself bears a number of important similarities to the Ravensworth redesign c.1724 and as such warrants thorough examination and description here. Eslington is built on a simple U-shaped plan with nine bays and two stories on its two principal fronts. The angles have rusticated quoins to contrast the plain but well-polished ashlar walls. The south front is the primary entrance for the house and features nine bays of eighteen-pane sashed windows with moulded surrounds, an eaves cornice, and a parapet

(Figure 46; Pevsner et al 1992:272). The entrance is decorated with a simple yet dignified Tuscan porch with a triglyph frieze and a parapet of its own. The east side, which is the garden front, has angles which extend slightly eastwards and house one set of sash windows each (Figure 47 and Figure 48). In the centre of these are seven bays of sashed windows identical to those on the south front. Again a simple porch is located in the central bay yet this time is of a classical ionic character with a pulvinated frieze and dentils below the cornice. The front columns are plain, while their corresponding pilasters are fluted. The parapet of the house encloses a shallowly-pitched roof. The east front has two primary chimneys piercing the central section of the roof and a third on the northeast extended angle, while the south front is not pierced. Four additional larger chimneys are found at various points on the house. All other elements of the structure's exterior (including fences and gates) are associated with an 1858 rebuilding campaign (Pevsner et al 1992:273).



Figure 46: Eslington Park, from the southeast
http://www.holidaycottages.net/book_the-east-wing.htm, copyright obtained from webmaster

The south front has an addition of three bays of different character to the others. This section was an addition of 1796 by Henry George Liddell (British Listed Buildings No. 236195) and features slightly larger first-storey twelve-pane sash windows. The second-storey has smaller twelve-pane sash windows with panes comparable in size and form to the earlier windows of the other fronts. This addition has a different parapet altogether: significantly larger, balustrade, and pierced in a honeycomb fashion. Beyond this addition is a range which wraps around the southwest corner and continues northwards to the northwest corner to form a central courtyard. Two other buildings are located on the site, namely the stables to the northwest and a long rectangular outbuilding east of the house proper. All three of these are associated with a building campaign carried out in 1858 for the 1st Baron Ravenworth; all fences and gates which form the boundaries and approach for the house are likewise associated with this campaign.



Figure 47: Eslington Park, east garden front
http://www.holidaycottages.net/book_the-east-wing.htm, copyright obtained from webmaster



Figure 48: Eslington Park, detail of east garden front
http://www.holidaycottages.net/book_the-east-wing.htm, copyright obtained from webmaster

Eslington Park is distinct from other neo-Palladian structures of the period in the region (e.g. Seaton Delaval Hall c.1718-2 and Morpeth Town Hall c.1714 by Vanbrugh and Newmoor Hall c.1720, which shows heavy Vanbrugh influence; Pevsner et al 1992b:518-9). Besides the porches, the main decorative element of the structure is the rows of sash windows. These would have been the primary attraction for visitors especially in the early eighteenth century when this technology was still in its infancy. The main fronts of the eighteenth century section of the house were essentially built as blank walls to showcase these windows. This was typical of the period as well as the region from the point when sashes first became available, beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century with such examples as have been outlined in the previous sections, of which Callaly Castle is a particularly good example.

In terms of its local architectural parallels, Eslington's H-plan garden front and lack of extensive decoration are echoed at Eglington Hall in Eglington, Northumberland, probably built to a design by William Etty (designer of Gibside Hall's unrealised fortified redesign; Historic England No. 1000508, Pevsner et al 1992b:265). The substantial house which survives at present was built in 1728 by Robert Ogle whose family had purchased the property in 1514 (Pevsner et al 1992b:265). Though its seven bays of sash windows (cf. Eslington and Ravensworth) are encased in a more Vanbrugh-like style than those at Eslington, the projecting bays with rusticated quoins and plain parapet are very much akin to the Liddells' property of the same period. Another good example of an affinity for plain decoration and many rows of sash windows is found at Wallington Hall, Northumberland, described in the previous section. Ignoring the south face where an earlier wall was replaced with the current elevation in 1738 to a design by the architect Daniel Garrett, the west range of the building retains its late seventeenth century character and bears a noticeable resemblance to Eslington and, in turn, to the east face at Ravensworth. Here the roof enclosed by a plain parapet is also reproduced. The "architect" of this 1688 rebuilding around an original medieval pele tower remains unknown, yet the style of the architecture provides an excellent baseline for interpreting the local architectural climate which would have been a source of inspiration for craftsmen and landowners alike.

This attention paid to sash windows is the major similarity between Eslington and the principal site of Ravensworth. In fact, the design of these two houses is so similar that an association may be drawn for the "architect" of Ravensworth's early eighteenth century modifications. Paying particular attention to the west front of Eslington, if the projecting bays at the angles were removed, this central section is nearly identical to what Ravensworth most likely looked like after the Palladian redesign was realised by the 4th Baronet, fenestration and parapet alike. Looking particularly at the parapets it is clear that these were designed with precisely the same height and very nearly the same distance to the heads of the second storey windows, as discussed in Chapter V. Even the porch at Eslington was apparently echoed at Ravensworth as either a porch or a simpler pilastered doorway with triglyph frieze though this feature may have been added to Eslington's east front at a later date, as its stone has a slightly different colour. Their similarity is best appreciated when the two houses are examined alongside each other

using the 1787 engraving of Ravensworth but ignoring James Paine's Gothic addition in the foreground (Figure 49; this dichotomy of Gothic v. Palladian is discussed at length in the section below).

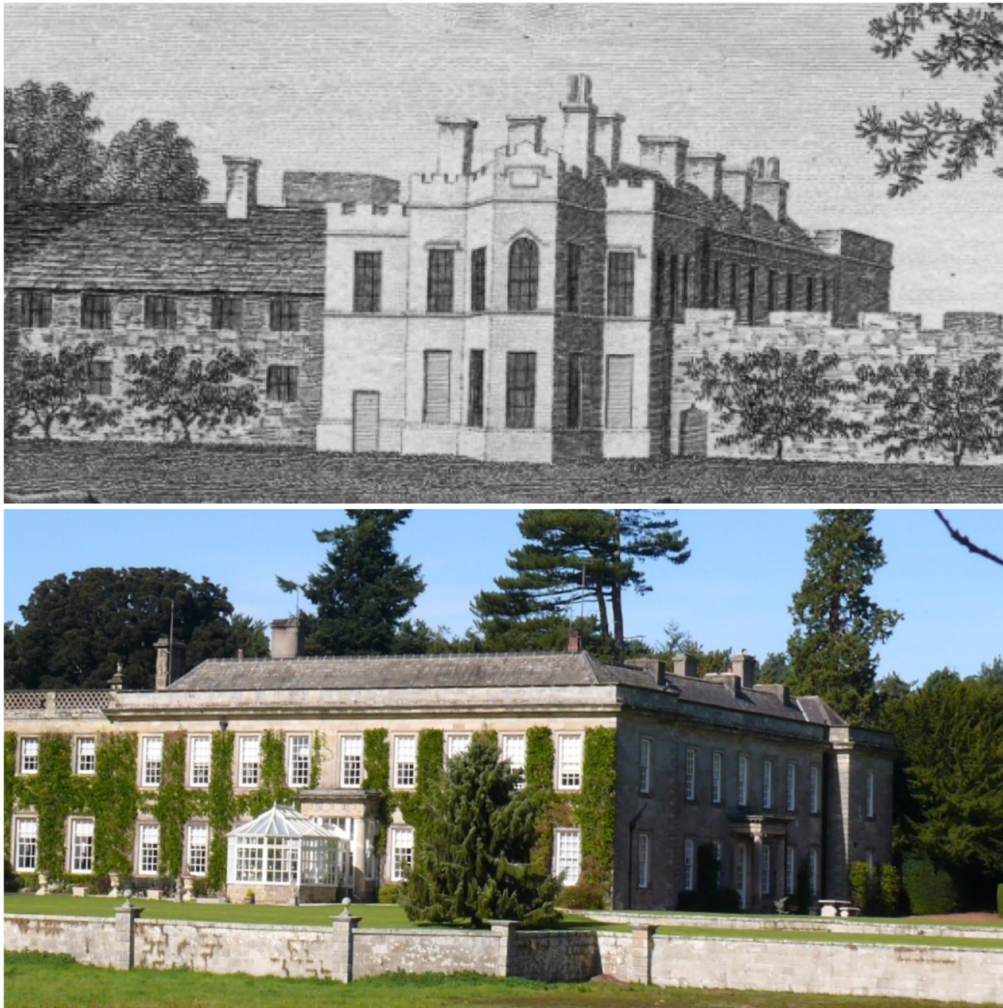


Figure 49: Comparison of Eslington Park and Ravensworth Castle east fronts

The architect for Eslington has remained unknown for the majority of its history, surprisingly absent even in Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary*, yet its time of construction and striking similarity to Ravensworth Castle, known to have been designed with assistance from the joiner Thomas Shirley, begs Shirley as the likely candidate. The 3rd Bt's letters to John Bright mention the purchase of Eslington and time spent there (SA WWM/Br/173:30; 173:6, 10) but do not address the design process or details of construction at the house. As such, archaeological evaluation of the building must suffice and as shall be further demonstrated below, the two structures are far too similar in their designs to dismiss the notion that Shirley accompanied Liddell in redesigning the house. While the concept of an "architect" in the modern sense should not be applied to this place and period, and rather the design of buildings such as Ravensworth, Newton Hall, Eslington, and Streatlam is to be understood as a collaborative effort between patron and craftsman, Shirley's hand is discernible in the majority of features at Eslington. It is

therefore the position of this thesis that Thomas Shirley was, in fact, the "craftsman-architect" (Pears 2013) responsible for the redesign of Eslington Park.

Eslington Park was the third of four acquisitions of the Liddell family during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It remains at present the seat of the Barony, the last remaining portion of what was at one point a broad collection of landholdings and the only remaining complete vestige of the Liddells' long eighteenth century in County Durham and Northumberland. As it stands, Eslington is the best point of reference for any reconstructive effort which may or may not occur for Ravensworth Castle. This is an extant structure which at least externally is a nearly complete work of the 3rd Baronet's design and the 4th Baronet's finishing touches, whereas the principal site only received exterior alteration of the centre portion of the complex. To examine Eslington Park, particularly its garden-facing elevation, is essentially to look upon a reincarnation of Ravensworth's lost Palladian front and to appreciate this as a complete vision. Though surveying of the interior of the house was not possible during the researching of this thesis due to privacy restrictions laid out by the current occupiers (i.e. the Baron Ravensworth), further inquiry into the structure itself would likely provide further answers as to potential reuse of the core of an earlier structure. Notwithstanding current limitations on access, analysis of the structure in this section serves to inform understandings of the architecture employed at the principal site as well as highlighting the nature of the family as occupying multiple estates during the eighteenth century with differing objectives for each landholding in each disparate landscape. Where Ravensworth Castle and Gibside were the epicentres of the industrial enterprises of the Liddells and Bowes, Eslington and Streatlam (discussed below) may be seen as analogous in their roles as estates separated from such industrial and political endeavours and aimed solely towards the creation and/or preservation of family legacy in the region.

Streatlam Castle: The Historic Seat of the Bowes

Approximately three miles northwest of the city of Barnard Castle lay the historic seat of the Bowes family at Streatlam Castle. Though in many ways structurally dissimilar, the Bowes' estate at Streatlam is a critical point of comparison for the Ravensworth and Eslington estates of the Liddells. While much of the designed landscape remains in the present day (as discussed in Chapter IV), nearly all traces of a house which was at one point considered "the best in our Northern parts" (Hutchinson 1823:308; writing in 1794) have disappeared. It is possible to make out the footprint of the former house from satellite imagery, sitting just north of a small rivulet. For seven hundred years this structure was a dynamic reflection of evolving architectural language, preserving its ancient character while accommodating contemporary aesthetic and technological innovation. For these reasons and indeed many others, it may be considered one of Ravensworth Castle's closest counterparts in the region and in general.

As has been explained in Chapter IV, where the landscape history of the estate parkland is discussed in detail, Streatlam Castle's history begins with the Baliol family, a Picard and Anglo-Norman family with lordship in England dating from the late eleventh century. While the precise date of construction is unknown, the first major structure on this site was a large Norman castle associated with this family. The remains of such a structure may well survive below surface but would be heavily disturbed by later building initiatives and by the fifteenth century was apparently worthy of significant rebuilding. The estate had passed to the Bowes family through marriage in the fourteenth century (Hutchinson 1823:305) and in the early fifteenth century experienced a redesign and/or repair under the direction of Sir William Bowes. This "new" structure was built in an Anglo-Norman style complementary with the original building fabric and existed at the site relatively unaltered until the early part of the eighteenth century.

Not long after the acquisition of Gibside, Thomas Bowes (d.1722, first son of Sir William Bowes d.1707) commissioned the most significant redesign in the house's history. From 1717 to 1720, Streatlam was not entirely rebuilt but rather refaced to better reflect the architectural style of the period: a reimagined estate rather than a complete destruction and rebuilding. This work was carried out by the joiner Thomas Shirley (Colvin 1995:866; DRO Strathmore Papers, Box 311, D/St 279/9, 263/152(iii), 263/957), the same Thomas Shirley assisting the 3rd Baronet at Newton Hall who would work at Ravensworth and arguably at Eslington just a few years later. When the building was gutted (c.1927) and later completely demolished (c.1959, as part of a Territorial Army exercise; Durham County HER D1948), Streatlam's architectural history was revealed in stages as it was slowly razed to the ground. According to resulting reports, much of the fifteenth century and earlier Norman material had been preserved to form the core of the eighteenth century house (Cathcart King 1983:137, Durham County HER D1948). From these accounts it is clear that the Bowes family must have added some parts of the resulting structure in the early eighteenth century yet the majority of the work involved refacing the earlier building.

Ravensworth and Streatlam alike may be understood as cooperative architectural endeavours where the patron and craftsmen worked alongside one another to produce a design for rebuilding or refacing. While plans for Streatlam's redesign do not survive (cf. those available for Newton Hall and Ravensworth Castle, discussed above and in the previous chapter), the motivations behind the project may be interpreted from engravings, photographs, and later accounts from visitors to the property. The two surviving engravings of the property date from 1778 and 1840 and show a remarkable lack of change between the eighteenth century and the first set of photographs. These latter images appeared in a *Country Life* feature on the house in December of 1915 and will be used as the baseline for much of the building's interpretation beyond the written accounts. Later images show the house after the interior was stripped in 1927 before complete demolition.

Two important antiquarian histories of the area make mention of Streatlam. These are Hutchinson's 1784 visit to the property published in 1823 and Mackenzie's account of 1896. Neither provides an extensive description of the architecture, but according to Hutchinson, a Freemason based in Barnard Castle (Stewart 2006) who most likely spoke with the then owners of the property, "the present castle was built on the old foundations, in the beginning of the last century, on an elegant plan, as to its front; but by retaining many of the old apartments, it is not conveniently laid out. Nothing but a veneration for the ancient seat of the family, could induce Sir William Bowes to erect such a mansion, in so ineligible a situation" (Hutchinson 1823:308). Despite the prevalence of refacing by the end of the eighteenth century (examples discussed in the previous chapter), Hutchinson condemns this example of the practice based on its unsuccessful employment by the Bowes family. That said, Streatlam's apparent "failures" in producing a satisfactory modification of the earlier medieval fabric highlight both the prevalence of this practice, as Hutchinson was seemingly familiar with idea of refacing an earlier structure in the then fashionable classical style, and the importance of retaining elements of this preceding structure to the family's specific statements of a historic presence in the landscape, despite the resulting "inconvenient" layout of its interior. Regardless of his commentary, the "elegant plan" which Hutchinson encountered is best appreciated in Figure 50.

Though the house had been completely demolished by the time Pevsner's *County Durham* was published (1953), save for the bridge over the rivulet, the stables, the entrance lodges (English Heritage Building ID: 111570), and the majority of a building which could be a banqueting house or orangery to the west of the main house, Margaret Hudson's 1983 amendment of the volume makes brief mention of Streatlam and highlights its architectural value to the region, especially considering its rather peculiar character. At the most basic level, Streatlam had a three-storey, thirteen-bay front with nine bays in the centre and two projecting, slightly taller two-bay wings. The main front had a single-hooded main doorway in the eighteenth century (cf. Ravensworth) to which a doric porch was added in the nineteenth (cf. Eslington, where the doric porch may be a later addition). The roof was balustraded and featured two wooden cupolas to which a third was added in the nineteenth century when all three were rebuilt in stone c.1841-2 by John & Benjamin Green (Pevsner et al 1983:446). The four-columned portico and terrace were also constructed at this time. In the eighteenth century, a dirt or gravel front area extended up to the face of the building (Figure 51; cf. Ravensworth, Eslington, and Newton).

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Figure 50: South front of Streatlam Castle, 1920s, before demolition c.1927 and 1959
lostheritage.org.uk, copyright obtained from webmaster



Figure 51: Streatlam Castle, 1 July 1778, from the southwest. Engraved by John Bailey, 1779:pl.12 facing p.277

The exterior stonework (shown best in Figure 52) was built with a banded rustication which Hudson calls "French-looking" (Pevsner 1983:446). Quoins were left rusticated and are indented at the far southeast and southwest angles and fenestration style was divided at the storeys. The bottom range was pierced by tall sash windows of Georgian proportions with nine panes topped by a semicircular head. Decoration of these windows was minimal with keystones in the heads and the circular shapes of the heads themselves being the only notable features. The second two storeys were even plainer with simple rectangular window surrounds (cf. Ravensworth and Eslington, as well as the earlier Netherwitton and Callaly, where the inclusion of vast quantities of sash windows was the primary aesthetic feature at each of these sites). For the nine central bays, the third storey had smaller windows with just six panes each; on the bays, this storey's windows were again smaller yet had fifteen panes each.

The west-facing walls may shed some light on the medieval character of the building's core. First, round-headed niches were used on the inside wall of the projecting east bay and presumably echoed on the west bay. These may indicate wall thicknesses of at least a couple of feet. The situation in the west front further complicates what would appear to have been a relatively simple and straightforward structure. Vertically, the "openings" are regularly spaced until the fourth set which is noticeably further from the third and the second set is entirely blocked with the same rusticated stone as surrounds it. Both of

these points may well be locations of thicker internal medieval walls. The blocked windows are especially curious since these would make little logical sense if the bays had been designed and built from the ground up. That said, the windows could have been blocked as part of the nineteenth century remodeling, but this seems unlikely.



Figure 52: Streatlam Castle, *Country Life Magazine* 18 December 1915
Available from <http://www.countrylifeimages.co.uk>

As previously stated, an understanding of Streatlam is critical in the analysis of Ravensworth as a building and as one part of an apportioned estate. Beyond their sharing a common "architect" in Thomas Shirley, the buildings have a number of important similarities and, since Streatlam survived well into the twentieth century, analysis of surviving photographs is a luxury when the primary site in question was demolished several decades before this technology was available. While the buildings are far from identical, they are united by their reuse, or rather refacing, of medieval structures. Streatlam Castle is far from regular in its design, regardless of its well-arranged fenestration on the main front. It is fundamentally an example of applying late seventeenth and early eighteenth architectural design and technology as a means to projecting status without entirely removing the ancient quality of the property (cf. Chatsworth, where the south and east fronts of the medieval hall were entirely rebuilt c.1696 under the direction of William Talman; Jones 2005:67-9). Refacing would certainly have been the faster and cheaper option as opposed to commissioning a wholly new structure, effectively a streamlined route to higher regard amongst the architecturally-enlightened social élite.

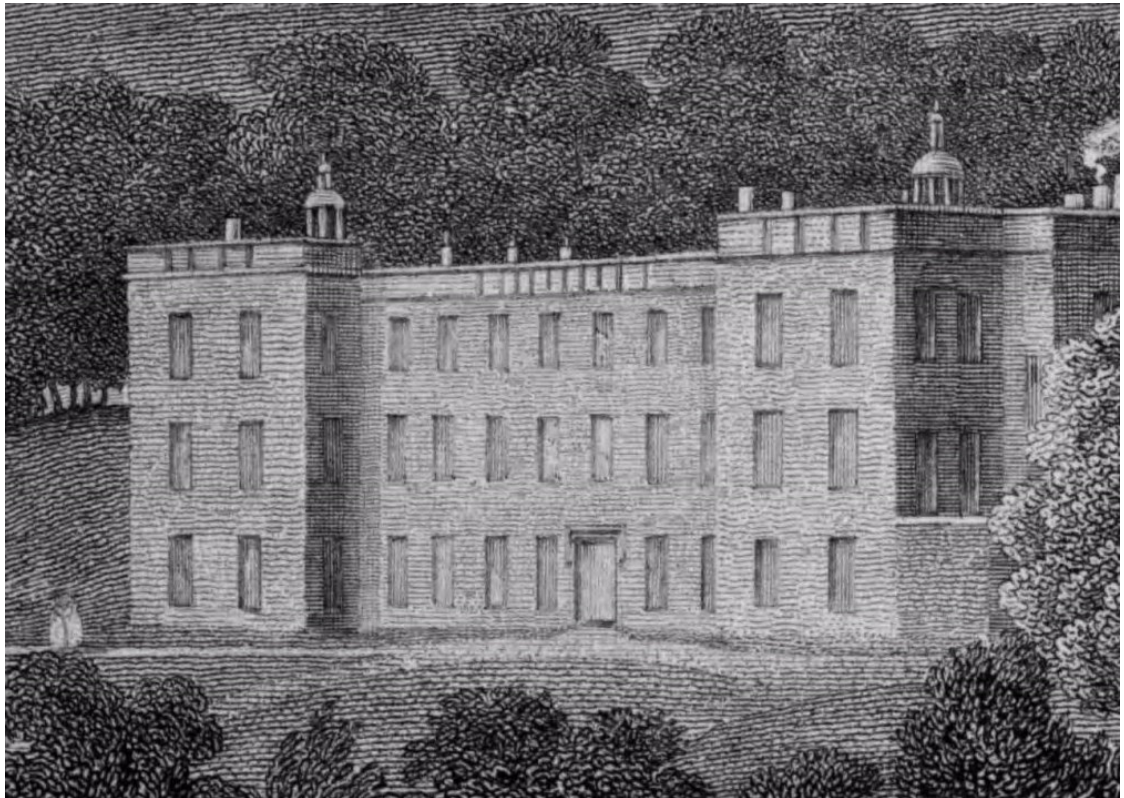


Figure 53: *Streatlam Castle, The Seat of John Bowes Esq., M.P.*, 1 November 1839, from the southeast (Surtees 1840:clxxvi)

The Bowes and Liddell families shared much in terms of their developments from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, remaining intimately connected in their shared and competing mercantile and social ventures. This relationship is reflected in the architecture they produced and even more so in the diversification of "divided" estates. Here an important analogy can be drawn, where Streatlam Castle is to Gibside as Eslington Park is to Ravensworth. Ravensworth and Gibside were identical in their celebration of industry, making no efforts to disguise but rather showcasing the crude reality of coalworkings that were themselves directly responsible for the financial successes which made the estates possible. For the Liddells, acquiring Eslington in 1719 was an extending of their "empire" to include a more secluded, refined place of residence. The same was true of Streatlam. Although the latter was already a historic seat of the family, the house's place within its landscape, refacing of the earlier medieval core, and the employing of the same craftsman-architect, and not to mention its demolition in the first half of the twentieth century are what link it so closely with the architectural narrative of the Liddells. Understanding such themes as they occurred at Streatlam serves to improve the perception of the principal site as a house and landscape which evolved during the eighteenth century to address an apparent need for classically-inspired architecture: an architecture to better reflect the family's awareness of and ascription to a regional and national shift towards associating authority and virtue with classical forms supplemented by a retention of a local origin story as expressed in the siting of the structure within a historic landscape.

The Dichotomy of Gothic and Classical Architectures, 1735-1770

With the exception of Newton Hall's proximity to Durham City, the preceding two sections have dealt exclusively with country estates deliberately separated from the centres of civic life. In this section, the fourth and final house acquired by the Liddells during the period of their Baronetcy contributes an inner-city dynamic to the landholdings of the family. In acquiring and improving upon the house at No.13 St. James's Square, London, the Liddells effectively achieved a diversification of landholdings that allowed for industrial, political, and social relations and aspirations to be addressed in the regions necessary for their continued advancement as new gentry. In much the same manner as planters of the American colonies required a degree of visibility in town centres to supplement such demonstrations of power as were fostered by plantation estate culture (as discussed in the chapter to follow), this new structure in the exclusive St. James's district of the West End allowed the Liddells to establish the family as connected and participatory within the political and social élite circles of British society, and more specifically with Whiggism.

The architectural language of choice for this expansion of townhouse architecture following the Great Fire of London was classically-inspired and paid attention to the associations which could be drawn between classical forms as representative of civic duty and the impressions of stateliness and influence afforded by such proportions and features (see especially Stewart 2009). Concurrent to these developments, at least by the later 1740s, was a move towards more decidedly "British" architecture in

country estate design to complement a shift away from regularity of features to a more organic experience of landscape (addressed in Chapter IV). This movement is personified in the architecture of the Liddells' house at Ravensworth Castle where Gothic revivalist additions (discussed in the previous chapter) were employed to enhance the more ancient character of the house. This is to say that despite the association with architecture of the classical period, classical forms should be seen in this context as a display of modernity and a break from traditionally English architecture.

In this final section, the dichotomy between classical and Gothic agendas in architecture seen at Ravensworth after c.1758 and furthered for the family by the relationship between architectures of the primary site and that employed at No.13 St. James's Square are explored, where Gothic is to countryside, landscape, outdoor activity, naturalism, and perhaps ancientness and classical is to civic duty. Both of these are the result of initiatives made by the 4th Bt and coincide with and reflect competition between the coal barons of Tyneside (i.e. the Liddells and Bowes). The portion of this section which addresses the Gothic elements of Ravensworth and its contemporaries also investigates the precedents for the movement in the same manner as the 3rd Bt's inspirations have been addressed in the first part of this chapter.

No.13 St. James's Square

In the early part of the eighteenth century, the older Hostmen's Company was not the power it had once been and a new system of organisation was needed to safeguard northern interests. This necessity manifested in the Regulation of 1708: set up by several of the principal coal merchants of the Tyne Valley to maintain prices on the London market by controlling production (Ellis 1998:142,147). Limiting the export of coal from Tyneside would force buyers in London to keep their prices relatively high in an age when domestic consumption of coal was rising at a steeper rate than ever before. Though the organisation ultimately failed due to external forces, as it was quite easy for merchants not allied with the Regulation to increase production in efforts to cash in on this growing market, it stands as the precursor for the formation of the Grand Alliance ten years further along.

Then the Governor of the Hostman's Company, the 3rd Bt spearheaded the formation of this Regulation but decided to name his dear friend William Cotesworth principal agent of the new organization. Purdue records that Cotesworth was already heavily involved in mining ventures with the Liddells (1999:34). To supervise matters relating to the family's coal business, the family had named the 3rd Bt's second son, also called Henry (c.1673-1717). This was not at all uncommon in this period, with families often relying on junior members to carry out their diverse political and business affairs (Ellis 1987:ix). It was during this time working on Tyneside that Henry formed a friendship with Cotesworth. Henry's letters to William survive and have been published in an edited form by the Surtees Society. From these letters, particularly those written after 1710 when Henry was sent to London to manage affairs in the capital, it is clear that the 3rd Bt devoted a great deal of energy to fostering a London

presence for himself, his family, and his business by way of his son. With Cotesworth positioned on Tyneside effectively as steward of local coal interests and Henry in London negotiating trade and public affairs, the 3rd Bt was free to orchestrate larger initiatives and goals for the family, not least of which was improving and expanding their architectural presence. While Henry died before his father and thus did not succeed to the Baronetcy, he was the first member of his family to live long-term in London and as such can be seen as laying the groundwork for a more permanent seat in the capital.

Following on his grandfather's heels, Sir Henry Liddell (c.1708-1784), created 1st Baron Ravensworth c.1747, succeeded to the Baronetcy of Ravensworth Castle in 1723. Alongside his architectural projects at Ravensworth Castle, the 4th Bt spent a considerable amount of money bolstering his family's image in London. Seeking to build on his grandfather's respected position in the city and the work of his uncle Henry, Liddell purchased the house at No.13 St. James's Square (Figure 54 and Figure 55) in 1735 for £3200 from George Clarges whose family had owned the site of the house since 1675 (British Museum, Add. MS. 22063, item 376). This came a year after he was elected Member of Parliament (Whig) for Morpeth, a seat he held until 1747 (Fewster 1960:83). Between 1735 and 1737 Liddell commissioned a substantial rebuilding of the house, likely sparing few expenses for he was at the time described as living "at a great expense" (Historical Manuscripts Commission, MSS of Earl of Carlisle, 1897:59). No.13 stands today nearly unchanged from the 4th Bt's time, at least as far as the exterior is concerned, and surely reflects such a taste for elegance as well as an adherence to a classical agenda for Whiggism put forth most aggressively by Lord Burlington at Chiswick House (discussed in Chapter IV; see in particular Sicca 1982 and Nelson 1997).

In 1753, the architect Matthew Brettingham was recorded as being paid £21 "for Plans Drawing and attendance [...] in St. James's Square" (Brettingham's notebooks, Public Record Office, C108/362, March 1753 and memorandum near end; cited in Sheppard 1980:137), though this was probably retrospective. The plan exists today as it was laid out in the 1730s: a deep rectangle divided at the centre with front and back rooms on either side. The facade of the house is typical of Whig Palladianism with four bays and three levels, rustication on the ground level featuring oversized keystones for the windows (cf. gate at Burlington House, Piccadilly, included in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*; Campbell 1725:pl.25), sash windows of Georgian proportions at the first two floors, and smaller two-third-height windows at the second floor which finishes with a simple neoclassical box cornice (a comprehensive assessment of the structure is available in Sheppard 1960:136-9). While seemingly modest, the building was well suited for its environment. St. James's was and is one of the city's most prestigious squares, dotted with Palladian and neoclassical structures designed by Brettingham (Nos. 5 and 13), Robert Adam (Nos. 20/21 and 33), and James Stuart (No.15). Though a number of addresses in St. James's have been replaced with neo-Georgian or modern structures, the charm of its relative peace and quiet just two streets south of Piccadilly remains and affords a gentle stateliness in the midst of central London

Based on his architectural efforts and successes in London, the 4th Bt's cultural knowledge and appreciation for artistic expressions of power are clear to see. Standing at the steps of No. 20/21, Robert Adam's spectacular terraces, a glance to the right affords the visitor a beautiful, linear view up the square terminating at No.13 at the north west corner. From this point, it is difficult to imagine a more tasteful use of domestic Georgian architectural language. In this instance, at least, the "Imitating Fool" (Pope 1731, quoted in the previous chapter) is nowhere to be found. It was the fourth and final property acquisition for the Liddells in the eighteenth century and completes the list of the family's architectural holdings, divided yet cooperative and serving of specific interests. It should also be noted that the Bowes family gained a London address shortly thereafter at No.40 Grosvenor Square (formerly 35), Mayfair, and held this address until 1779 (Sheppard 1980:117-66). Acquiring a family property in London was a significant step forward for a northern industrial family, and no doubt a necessary play in the deeply competitive power game of the Bowes and Liddells.



Figure 54: No.13 St. James's Square, London (author's photograph)

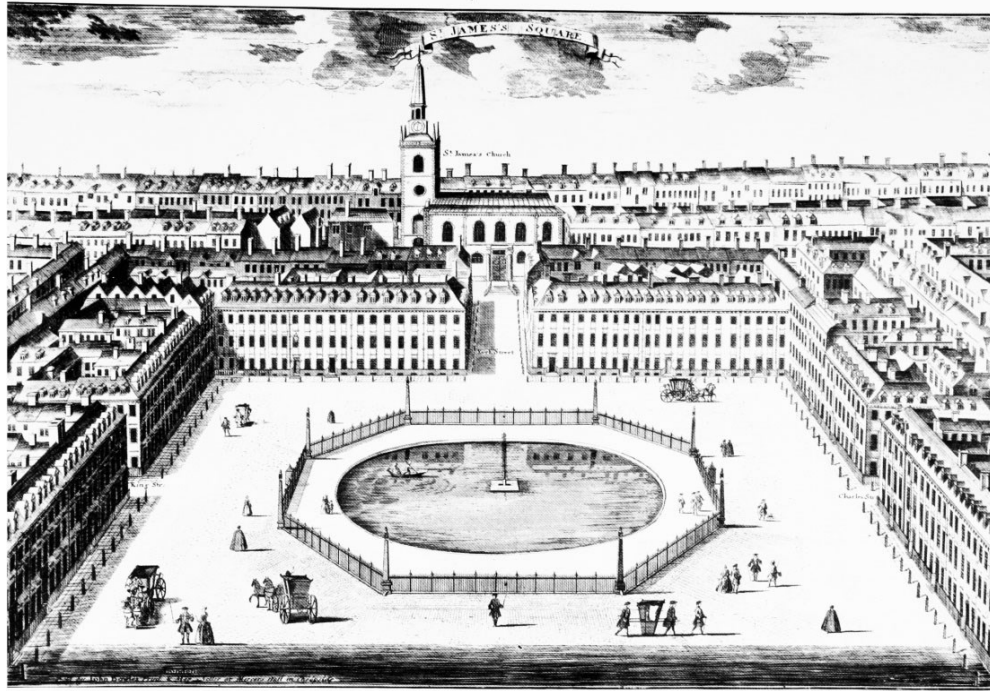


Figure 55: Sutton Nicholls' View of St. James's Square, post 1727-8 (Sheppard 1960:pl.129)

Looking northwest, showing alteration to centre square made 1727-8

No.13 shown top left with more than four bays, likely artistic licensing to improve symmetry

The use of Palladian themes in this context corresponds with an architectural agenda for the remainder of St. James's Square and indeed for the majority of townhouses constructed in the West End during this period (see Besant 1902, George 1964, and Stillman 1988 and Stewart 2009 in particular). The civic character of this so-called Georgian Order (see Deetz 1977, Leone 1984 and 1988, and Johnson 1999) emphasised the family's active participation in the social and political arenas of London society. Within the context of this thesis, this landholding of the Liddell family highlights the distinction between the country and city objectives seen in the architectures chosen for these spaces. In the section to follow, this dichotomy is explored further in explaining the origins of the revival of medieval architectural forms and the implications of such upon public perceptions of estate architecture.

Enhancing the "Gothic" c.1758

The idea of creating a "historic" family seat at Ravensworth is one which remains throughout the structure's entire architectural history. Though the refaced principal front was notable for its focus on symmetry and relative lack of decoration, every other addition or improvement of the structure placed an emphasis on a medieval origin story, and while the almost complete redesign of the nineteenth century removed all classical elements, the long eighteenth century saw a Ravensworth Castle defined by its juxtaposition of classical and medieval (or Gothic) forms. In this manner, Ravensworth's history as

a building can be described as a series of recurring attempts to accentuate its more ancient character and in the eighteenth century as a conflict between innovation and archaism.

While the Palladian and neoclassical elements of the Ravensworth estate have featured prominently in the preceding discussions, it is the estate's medieval and/or Gothic characteristics (henceforth, the word "Gothic" shall be used to describe revivalist medieval architecture of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries), or rather the presence of both of these, which define and encapsulate its architectural history. This medieval character was complemented in the eighteenth century by a strong Palladian centrepiece, yet despite its prominent location as the centrepiece of the complex, this structure was fundamentally an extension of an earlier historical narrative rooted in the post-Norman period of design. Furthermore, the Palladian structure lasted just thirty years in isolation before Gothic extensions were added as bookends to this façade, and when nearly all of this structure was brought down in the early nineteenth century and replaced with a wholly new design, it was the medieval lore of the site which dictated the redesign.

It is necessary to contextualise these developments at Ravensworth within the wider narrative of Gothic architecture's revival in Britain, paying particular attention to the generation and proliferation of the movement during the long eighteenth century. This use of the word Gothic as a description of an ancient English identity is a seventeenth century construction (Kliger 1945:107, citing discussions of English law and political thought) though its eighteenth century adoption by primarily Whig sympathisers can be explained in its connotations of "freedom" (i.e. freedom of Anglo-Saxons) from Roman tyranny (inherently conservative, the antithesis of "enlightened" or "liberal"; see Thomson's *Liberty*, 1735-6, where it is supposed that the corrupted liberty of the Romans was rescued or recovered by the Goths; cited in Kliger 1945:112, 116). Indeed, the concept of "Gothic as English" begins alongside the advent of Whiggism in the middle part of the seventeenth century and is encapsulated in Bacon's writing on the subject and an analysis by the architectural historian John Martin Robinson:

"The [Gothic] people were a free people, governed by laws, and those made not after the manner of the Gauls (as Caesar noteth) by the great men, but by the people; and therefore called a free people, because they were a Law to themselves" (Bacon 1647:9).

"To the Whigs, Saxon and Gothic were interchangeably associated with freedom and ancient English liberties: trial by jury (erroneously thought to have been founded by King Alfred at a moot on Salisbury Plain), Magna Carta, parliamentary representation, all the things which the Civil War and Glorious Revolution had protected from the wiles of Stuart would-be absolutism, and to the preservation of which Lord Cobham and his 'Patriots' were seriously devoted" (Robinson 1990:102).

On the Tory side of the argument, classical architecture was seen as "that Architecture, which was taught by nature and polished by the graces" as opposed to "our old Gothic constitution, which allows everyone the privilege of playing the fool, and of making himself ridiculous in whatever way he pleases" (Whitehead 1753, a Tory spokesman; quoted in Kliger 1945:116). A dichotomy of conceptions of "true

architecture” and also of liberty itself emerges, even within the same political parties. Gibside’s Column of British Liberty (begun by Garrett c.1750, completed by Paine c.1759) is a key local example of Whiggism in local architecture yet is wholly classical in design, standing in stark contrast to James Gibbs’ Temple of Liberty at Stowe (c.1741-1748, dedicated “To the Liberty of our Ancestors”) which is one of the most elaborate early forays into Gothic revivalism. Its patron Richard Grenville was the leader of the Whig group known as the Grenvillites (Beckett 1995). On the Palladian side of the argument, it might also be noted that Colen Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus, or The British Architect* (published in three volumes between 1715 and 1725) was patronised by the great Whig aristocrat John Campbell, Second Duke of Argyle and Duke of Greenwich (1678-1743) (Curl 2002:24).

This dichotomy is perhaps best understood by reading the competitive relationships of the argument’s most prominent players: namely Batty Langley (1696-1751) and Lord Burlington (1694-1753), whose dictum was voiced loudest through his supporter James Ralph. Batty Langley’s defense of medieval architecture was as much a reaction as a purely scholarly endeavor where, in contrast to Burlington and his followers, Langley believed the staunchness of these neo-Palladians was born of a lack of practical knowledge of building in England (letters from 24 October and 12 December 1734, where Langley condemns Burlington House and Jones’s Banqueting House; cited in Craske 2004:110) and devoted much of his written work in the 1730s to exposing Lord Burlington and his devoted champion James Ralph as amateurs (primarily in articles in the *Grub Street Journal*; cited in Craske 2004:111). In a sense, Langley advocated against a preference in architecture based solely on “taste” in favour of one rooted in mathematical understanding. This is not to say that application of classical forms was in any way devoid of the geometrical consideration but rather to suggest that Palladianism in the early eighteenth century was, at least in Langley’s mind, focused more on the imitation of forms (largely Palladian) rather than holistic understanding of the mathematical properties governing the success of and reasoning behind construction within a classical language (for Ralph especially, Craske points to an apparent lack of real understanding masked by high-brow jargon, at least as far as his critics were concerned; 2004:113). This genesis of a competitive discourse on the study of architecture can be understood as a baseline for what would materialise as diverging narratives for the classical and the Gothic during the eighteenth century though in many cases the two schools were present within the same estates (e.g. Ravensworth Castle) and in some early cases informed the practical construction of one another (particularly in terms of connected and isolated satellite structures, as discussed at length below).

In terms of the genesis of a revivalist movement, it is impossible to ignore the impact of Horace Walpole (b.1718), whose influence “may be ascribed [as] one of the chief causes which induced its present revival” (Eastlake & Crook 1970:42), and Batty Langley (b.1696) whose pattern books from the 1730s in particular had a tremendous influence upon eighteenth century conceptions of “English” Gothic architecture (see especially Harris 1977 and Reiff 2000 for examples of his influence in Colonial American architecture, discussed further in Chapter VII). In Strawberry Hill (Figure 56), Walpole’s own

home which he personally redesigned in his favoured Gothic style, and in Langley's publication of *Ancient Architecture Restored* in 1742 and reissue in 1747 as *Gothic Architecture, improved by Rules and Proportions*, may be seen the first signs of a conflict of opinions and thus the competition which drives each new architectural movement forward. Walpole harshly criticised Langley's treatment of medieval forms:

All that his books achieved, has been to teach carpenters to massacre that venerable species, and to give occasion to those who know nothing of the matter, and who mistake his clumsy efforts for real imitations, to censure the productions of our ancestors, whose bold and beautiful fabrics Sir Christopher Wren viewed and reviewed with astonishment, and never mentioned without esteem" (Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, 1798:484)



Figure 56: Walpole's Strawberry Hill House. Wikipedia Commons

Though his criticism was not a direct attack on the author but rather a retrospective view published nearly fifty years after Langley's death, the episode highlights a then emerging (i.e. c.1740s) dialogue among designers and artists: one which sought to catalogue and codify England's medieval architecture (see Longueil 1923 and Mowl 1996).

While Walpole's magnificent building campaigns at Strawberry Hill (begun c.1747) can more than reasonably be considered the finest realisation of renewed interest in Gothic, it is important to understand the wider context within which this structure was created, specifically as it pertains to the literary and political climates of the early and middle parts of the eighteenth century (Walpole was the son of Sir Robert Walpole of Houghton Hall in Norfolk who was instrumental in establishing a stable political supremacy for the Whig party following the Glorious Revolution; Dickinson 2003). That said, while Walpole's Strawberry Hill was begun in 1747, it did not receive any Gothic treatments until after 1750 and the first signs of this transformation did not appear until 1753 (Clark 1962:46). As such, any "Gothick" structures occurring before 1753 were not directly influenced by the structure but rather may have contributed to Walpole's inspiration. This preceding culture of Gothic appreciation is seen

most clearly in literature, particularly with the invention of the Gothic novel (see Evans 1947, Hume 1969, Watt 1999).

Walpole was highly influenced by continental travels in 1739 (Clark 1962:34) and was accompanied by Thomas Gray, a poet as well as critic in his own right, whose appreciation for Gothic architecture on the continent and in England is seen in his approach to literature and building of the medieval period (see *The Bard*, in Gray 1757). For Gray, medieval or "Gothick" architecture was not to be understood as fundamentally lacking in "taste" or "civility" (see *TRHS* 6th series, v.12, where the idea of civility and politeness is discussed at length, and particularly Cooper 2002:293; see also Newton 2006:96), as the neoclassical devotee would declare, but rather should be given its chance to be beautiful and important (Clark 1962:35-38) and deserved scholarly attention. According to his contemporaries, Gray was apparently able to describe and date any part of any one of England's cathedrals, indicating a level of interest in and curiosity for medieval forms perhaps unequaled since Dugdale (Roberts 1993:53). In this manner, the beginnings of Gothic revivalist building can be associated with a combined literary and scholarly appreciation for the medieval which influenced the greater community of artists, writers, and patrons of grand architecture.

Poets such as Thomas and Joseph Warton (see Pittock 1973), Collins (*Ode to Liberty*, 1747), and later Percy (*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 1765) were contributors to a growing rather than completely novel movement: part of a shift in English literary scholarship that coincided with a shift in the idea of British identity and liberty. The appreciation and gainful application of medieval forms reached a tipping point in the middle part of the century rather than beginning at a single source. For the northern estate, this evolution began at least as early as the 1720s with Sharp's Folly, perhaps the earliest "Gothic" structure in the region (Figure 57). Archdeacon Thomas Sharp's small landscape folly, commissioned as a job-creating venture for the area and doubling as an observatory, features an embattled parapet above a classical cornice and seems to perfectly encapsulate a transition towards Gothic. Sharp did live in a nearby pele tower (Pevsner 1999:629) and this likely had an influence on his choice of building style. Nonetheless, medieval themes were applied to an otherwise classical language for estate building, in this case the secluded folly.



Figure 57: Sharp's Folly, Whitton and Tosson, Northumberland
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In erecting a building that is inspired at once by classical and Gothic precedents, Sharp's commissioning of his folly illustrates the beginnings of a larger theme of concurrence. By the 1740s and 50s, Gothic forms became so prevalent in application that they should be viewed as merely another viable option amidst an overwhelmingly Palladian climate (see, for example, Inverary Castle, Argyll, begun c.1745). The earliest and best surviving examples of these are Sanderson Miller's works at Edgehill (octagonal castellated tower, 1746) and Hagley (folly castle, 1747). Though not all early Georgian Gothic structures were necessarily Palladian in their design, of which the Conduit House at The College, Durham Peninsula (c.1751, probably by Sanderson Miller; Pevsner 1992:208) and Rothley Castle and Codger Fort at Wallington Hall (c.1755 and 1769, respectively; Pevsner 1999:554-5) are excellent examples, the majority can be characterised by their application of themes rather than use of a wholly Gothic language (see Knowling 2003, Mowl & White 2005, and especially Dixon Hunt 2008). For Batty Langley, Gothic was not necessarily perfect and was in fact a corruption of classical forms (Curl 2011:94) yet was nevertheless worthy and capable of improvement by the then modern "architect." His work, along with those who had preceded and influenced him (e.g. Kent), was an invention designed to systematically account for Gothic forms which could then be applied to structures within the then-prevalent Palladian language. Along with Walpole, contemporary and future architects would have read Langley's work in this context, as is evidenced by the buildings they designed. For Ravensworth, its mid-century improver James Paine was one of these architects.

To reiterate, it is well established that Ravensworth Castle was improved in the middle part of the eighteenth century by James Paine, a Palladian architect who was responsible for rebuilding and new construction at several other sites in the region during the 1750s and 60s (discussed in Chapter V). These include Belford Hall (c.1755-6), Blagdon Hall (c.1753-6), Gosforth House (c.1755-64), the magnificent Chapel at Gibside (begun c.1760), and many others throughout Yorkshire, County Durham, and Northumberland to add to his works in the south. Though no apprenticeship is recorded for him, registration was not required for those apprentices receiving financial assistance, and Paine's modest upbringing in Andover, Hampshire, as the son of a carpenter would have qualified him for benefits. Based on Paine's earliest work, the architect likely trained in London at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, founded in 1735 as a centre for teaching the art of life-drawing where Paine would study under the direction of the Palladian Isaac Ware (Leach 1988:18-19). Following his training at the Academy, Paine was thenceforth fortunate enough to be engaged for many significant designs, beginning not so humbly with his design for Nostell Priory (begun c.1733 for Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Bt Winn). The most significant turning point for his career, however, was the inheritance of a slew of unfinished works in Yorkshire, County Durham, and Northumberland begun by Daniel Garrett, Burlington's man of business, upon Garrett's death in 1753. These included the Bowes' improvements at Gibside and alterations at Blagdon Hall, Northumberland, among others (Leach 1988:24): effectively making Paine the most prominent architect of the Burlingtonian Palladian school working in the north of England at this time.

Apart from his ventures as a Palladian architect, James Paine undertook a series of jobs involving improvement and/or new construction in the Gothic style. Most notable are his works at Raby Castle, Alnwick Castle, and Hardwick Hall. At Raby (Pevsner 1992:383-9), Paine took over for Daniel Garrett who was employed by the 3rd Lord Barnard (named Earl of Darlington c.1754) between 1740 and 1751/2. Paine's work from 1752-60 included the restoration of Baron's Hall, the south and west fronts, and parts of the courtyard (Pevsner 1992:388): all of which were designed to be respectful of yet improve upon the medieval character of the building's exterior. Further north at Alnwick, Walpole mentions work going on when he visited the site in 1752, likely attributable to Paine, but this engagement was apparently short-lived as no major works were recorded in a book published c.1758 which described the castle (Pevsner 1999:136). After this, both Paine and Adam were known to have been working at the house in the 1760s. Though the majority of the improvements which stand at present are attributable to nineteenth century works by the architect Anthony Salvin, whose building and decorating efforts cost nearly a quarter of a million pounds (Pevsner 1992:136), most of the 1760s work replaced known earlier features (e.g. statues of soldiers in the battlements of the barbican) and redesigned interiors in Palladian and Georgian Gothic styles.

Though not on the same scale as works at Raby and Alnwick, Paine's work at Hardwick Hall c.1754-7 bears the most resemblance to that at Ravensworth, at least in terms of architectural style and choices

of forms, and is illustrative of the movement in general. Here Paine was responsible for a series of Gothic and Palladian outbuildings and structures, four out of seven of which survive at present though are in various states of ruin (Pevsner 1992:301). These are a gatehouse (Figure 58), Bono Retiro, and footbridge, all in Gothic style, and a Temple of Minerva, a Palladian exercise with a dome comparable to that at Chiswick villa for Burlington. The gatehouse features a tall, castellated guard tower folly with little decoration save for a few arrow slit openings. The Buon Retiro is again rather simple yet picturesque in its landscape situated at the end of a rectangular pond and makes use of rubble rather than ashlar to accentuate its "medieval" character. Finally, the footbridge features a balustrade pierced by quatrefoil openings.



Figure 58: Gatehouse and tower at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire
Photograph copyright permissions obtained from Berenice Carroll, Flickr

In these three outbuildings, Paine exhibits the then prevailing architectural solutions to a desire for medieval aesthetics in building. Structures surviving from this period c.1750-60 in Durham and Northumberland can be associated with these themes in architecture and it is precisely this limited vocabulary which defines what is now known as early Gothic Revival, Georgian Gothic, or simply Picturesque. In terms of landscape structures, Bishop Auckland Palace (castle gate and deer house, both c.1760; Pevsner 1992:101-2), the Banqueting House at Gibside (c.1751 by Daniel Garrett; Pevsner 1992:293), Greencroft Towers (gatehouse, mid-eighteenth century; Pevsner 1992:351), and Nunwick Hall Dog Kennel (c.1768; Pevsner 1999:534) are all excellent examples, each making use of medieval features in structures which are essentially classical by design. As Pevsner says of Gibside's Banqueting House, "the clothing is Gothick but the plan Palladian" (Pevsner 1992:293).

What emerges from this discussion of early Gothic revivalism is a distinction in the purposes of certain types of architecture. Comparing Gibside once again, it is this interplay between Gothic and classical architecture in distinct roles within the landscape which highlights the dichotomy. Here the Palladian style is used within the context of an ordered, linear avenue beginning at Paine's Chapel (begun c.1760) and terminating at the 146-foot Column to British Liberty (begun c.1750 under Garrett's direction but completed c.1753-59 by Paine) while the Gothic Banqueting House (likely completed c.1746 by Garrett) sits isolated deep within the landscape park. Though the architectural style of Ravensworth's Banqueting House (see discussion of 1785 estate map in Chapter IV) remains unknown, its form is trapezoidal which indicates not a classical structure but one more akin with Paine's trapezoidal addition to the south front of the main house, and as such was likely of a Gothic style.

From the 1740s onwards, this Gothic approach to design and function seems to have been used to celebrate the factual or intended ancient character of a landscape or place within a landscape by accentuating the visitor's impression of such. This was absolutely connected to shifts in the experience of estate landscapes discussed in Chapter IV and, as the dichotomy between the Liddells' architectural endeavours in the middle part of the eighteenth century demonstrate, Gothic fulfilled a new role as an architecture which could offer impressions of both antiquity and liberty to those who commissioned its construction, accentuating yet simultaneously archaising a family's presence in a landscape. On the reverse, Palladian themes as seen in the Liddells' rebuilding of No.13 St. James's Square continued to be used as statements of participation in the civic centres of political and economic life. For the primary site at Ravensworth Castle, however, Gothic architecture promoted a medieval origin story and an aggressive Whig agenda in tandem.

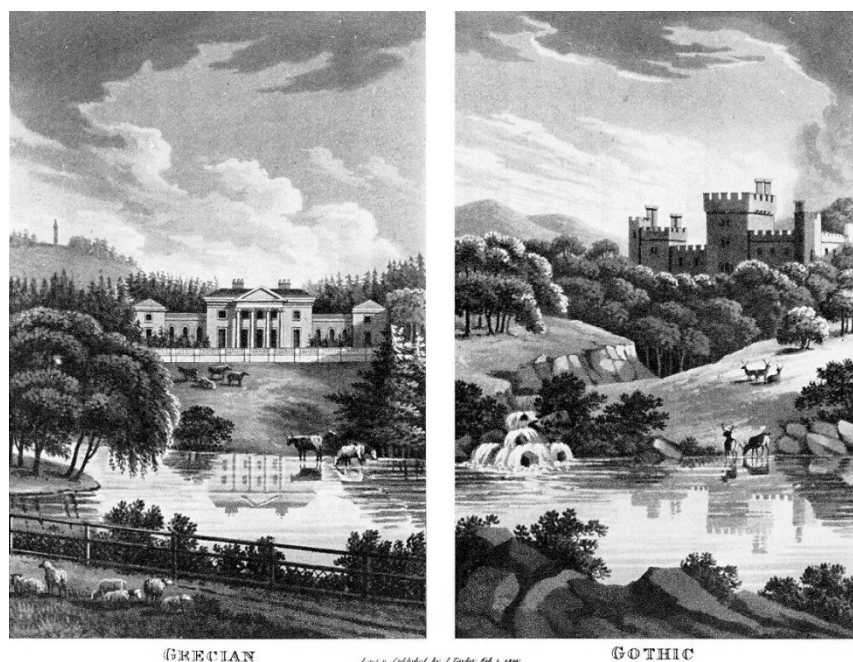


Figure 59: Grecian and Gothic landscapes
From Humphrey Repton's *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening*, 1816

Conclusions

The irregularity of the preexisting structure at Ravensworth Castle, composed of various elements reflecting various incarnations over the span of nearly five hundred years (taken at the point of the 3rd Baronet's tenure), has been demonstrated in the previous chapter as being the major factor contributing to its unique character. Such irregularity informed the ways in which new styles were incorporated, where the specifics of its introduction of sash window technology, for example, were reliant on the arrangement of the medieval house (cf. Callaly Castle, Northumberland). As has been addressed in the previous chapter, distinct phases in its architectural history were reflective of the preceding period in architecture (i.e. the later seventeenth century) in combination with a set of social and political stimuli which dictated its evolution during the eighteenth century. Changing movements in architectural and landscape design are reflected in the ways in which successive Baronets Ravensworth were compelled and able to redefine the family's presence in the local and regional landscapes. Here may be found a genuine dichotomy of functionality in architectural promotion and the representation of such in the disparity of styles between the various landholdings of the Liddell family, where Gothic and classical themes were called upon for distinct purposes at specific points (see Figure 59, where this dichotomy is represented well).

The architectural history of the Baronets Ravensworth in the eighteenth century is fundamentally a reflection of local inspiration and a will towards association with regional precedents. This was also an architecture with political overtones which may be associated with the ascription to and indeed participation within the wider Whig agenda of Yorkshire, County Durham, and Northumberland. Taking this point, it is possible to trace the evolution and dichotomies of architecture associated with this faction of the British political landscape through that employed by the Liddells and their contemporaries, where notions of liberty and antiquity are represented by vastly different yet equally ascribed themes.

Barring geophysical survey, treating each of the Liddells' various building campaigns and landholdings as individual components of an overarching architectural identity is the most effective method for gaining a holistic understanding of the principal site at Ravensworth. This comparative model for analysis also serves to shed light on the competitive nature of élite housing culture, especially that between mercantile families of the new gentry for whom local and national recognition was paramount. For the Liddells, Bowes, and their various other contemporaries, this allied yet competing relationship manifested in an essentially constant drive to supplant the opposing party. Yet despite this culture of dominance and ascendancy (cf. Protestant ascendancy in eighteenth century Ireland and that of plantations owners in the Chesapeake, discussed in Chapter VII), these families made use of the same resources and in the case of the Liddells and Bowes, the same craftsmen were serving the interests of both sides. The unique visions of these two families of Tyneside's industrial élite were realised within the same lexicon as was laid out with their shared political and mercantile affiliations and taking inspiration from the same set of local, national, and international precedents.

The Liddell estate was spread across a range of landholdings, each having particular significance and purpose. As argued in the previous chapter, the core of this network (i.e. the family seat at Ravensworth Castle) must be understood not as the site of distinct phases in architecture but as an evolving estate with medieval elements retained across the span of its architectural history. Based on the situating of the family's various landholdings within their local and regional landscape contexts in Chapter IV, the analyses of plans, images, and associated correspondence relating to Ravensworth Castle detailed in the previous chapter, and the comparing of these to relevant regional and national examples in the present chapter, a historical archaeology may be offered which places the sociopolitical motivations behind architectural and landscape-based initiatives at the forefront of new contributions to understandings of early modern industrial capitalism and gentry society in the North of England. This is particularly important in understanding the place of the Liddell family within the "Georgian Order" thesis, where the forms and locations of landholdings were reflective of the social and political aspirations of the patron and his aspired place within a wider community of the élite. In the chapter to follow, these conclusions based on explorations of one satellite region of British political, economic, and social society during the early modern period are compared with that of another contemporary area of seventeenth and eighteenth century mercantile growth (namely the colonial Chesapeake region of the Americas). By drawing the focus of this thesis out of its local context, discussions of the wider phenomenon of new mercantile gentry may be presented and applied to ultimate interpretations of the principal site on Tyneside.

CHAPTER VII

A Comparative Look at Gentry Plantations in the Chesapeake Colonies

*“Well, at last I found this amphibious creature,
This land-water thing, called a gentleman-tradesman.”*
Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, 1722:52

The Comparative Model

The primary aim of this thesis is to illuminate the pathways by which the mercantile élite may enter into the élite class of landed gentry without necessarily possessing notoriety based on historic precedent. In their 1998 paper on town planning in the Chesapeake region of the American colonies, Leone and Hurry argue that the planning and building of cities and landscapes in an emerging mercantile region was fundamentally a reflection of promotion and solidification of hierarchy, where the built environment was intended to be “seen” as much as it was aimed towards production and participation within a global industrial market. As has been discussed throughout this thesis, the so-called “opening” of the élite (Stone & Stone 1984) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries created a culture in which competition for visibility and status controlled much about the ways in which families chose to spend new capital, both in terms of competition within the system itself and among new gentry families themselves. The hierarchical structure of English gentry society born out of manorialism (Morton 1946:355) produced and enforced new divisions of classes, families, and landscapes yet simultaneously widened the doorway for ambitious new families, particularly if these families were fortunate enough to ally themselves with certain political issues and as such gain respect and prestige for their loyalties (see particularly Johnson 1996).

Following Carr and Walsh, 'families at the top of the social ladder attempted to establish their superiority by adopting the refinements and sophistications of English gentry, although the lifestyles of the top nobility were not within reach' (Carr & Walsh 1994:132). That said, the historical archaeology of early modern mercantile élite landscapes as presented in this thesis has revealed a regionalism in definitions of political and social "success" which existed despite the social boundaries of new or existing fortune. For the Liddells of Ravensworth Castle, such fortune occurred as a result of their support of Charles I and consequential awarding of the title of Baronet c.1642 (at the start of the English Civil War). While relatively new to large-scale landholding, as compared to the Bowes, to cite their most important competitor, the Liddells' status as Baronets and control of the lion's share of coal interests on Tyneside meant their building campaigns of the eighteenth century (under the direct or indirect oversight of the 3rd Baronet, Sir Henry Liddell) were more than appropriate and, crucially, were not defined in relation to existing gentry but rather were reflective and celebratory of the new industry and the distinctiveness of their industrial functionality.

Beyond the security brought by rapid economic success, however, these "neo-gentry" needed to create and retain an ancestral identity for themselves and their heirs. While authority may have evolved to be based more on worth than birth, or rather more on means than pedigree, families with much older histories of land and entitlement enjoyed a sanctuary in their statuses. One solution to such fear of impermanence was the creation of a physical presence and hierarchy within the landscape. Where ancestral clout could not be purchased, the housing culture of this period allowed the ambitious to compete with the nobility by architectural and social definition (or redefinition) so long as the architecture employed and societal roles assumed were suitably visible in their landscapes. In this manner, the aspiring family could in theory create a place of operation and residence both innovative and reputable, the practice of which gave rise to a still more increased competitive climate.

Drawing the focus of this thesis out from the local level of Tyneside and considering it as one region of the British Empire, the architectural and mercantile history of the Chesapeake region of the American colonies of Virginia and Maryland contains important parallels with the coalfields of County Durham and Northumberland. These may be applied to better appreciate concepts of architectural definition and may enrich understandings of the primary area of inquiry for this thesis which is relatively underexplored in the literature. While historical archaeologies of the early modern northwest and southwest of England have recognised the Atlantic connection (see particularly Collier & Pearson 1991, Hicks 2005, and Leech 2004 and 2014), no previous study has linked the northeast of England to America in this context. For the colonial Chesapeake, initiation and propagation of the tobacco industry gave rise to a class of families (the "planter" class) whose architectural history and historical archaeology is perhaps better understood than that of the coal owners on Tyneside. As such, a comparative approach can provide this investigation of the latter with a suitable model for interpreting the factors contributing to social, political, and fiscal success among British landowners. While a direct relationship

between these two regions is available for primary sources relating to Ravensworth Castle and the Liddell family, exploring contemporary developments in the Chesapeake region highlights more broadly comparable scenarios of creating lineage in a regional context (such as have been addressed by Lawrence 2003 and Hall 1993 and 2000) using established and modified rubrics of politeness which can then be applied to discussions of sociopolitical ascendancy among mercantile landowners in County Durham and Northumberland.

In employing such a model for comparison, a number of parallels immediately emerge. The importance of continuity for “new” élite families of the Chesapeake can be seen in the meanings these planters attached to landscape, the emphasis placed on liberty to control “property,” and the associative qualities of the estate architecture they employed (pertaining to both buildings and landscapes, as cooperative components of the estate). Since wealthy landowners in Virginia and Maryland were still the products of a society of “universal men” (Rasmussen 1982:208) yet lived in a place where elements of English culture had to be built from the ground up, the drive to carve out, create, and showcase a knowledge of English sensibility would have been greatly intensified. This drive is seen best in the reorganisation and redefinition of landscapes which included the construction of grand architectural projects, both private and public, and specifically by the second generation of planters who are the focus of this chapter. In creating such landscapes, planter families were able to hold industry and lifestyle together in harmony, despite fears for the security of these, for extended periods of time and by various means: a phenomenon remarkable in both this colonial context and that of County Durham. The goal of Isaac’s now canonical work on Virginia’s eighteenth century, the illumination of “meanings that eighteenth-century inhabitants attached to their environment” (Isaac 1999:12) may thus be extended to include an exploration of the uses of the built environment through analyses of the various design, associative, and hierarchical devices at work in these estates.

This comparative effort is not directly concerned with architectural parallels but seeks instead to investigate seventeenth and eighteenth century uses of architecture in the Chesapeake colonies as they relate to creating lineage, establishing political presence, cultivating and sustaining interpersonal relationships between planters, and maintaining successful parameters with those who worked for the betterment of the estate and towards its various objectives where most of the fabric of towns and estates was assembled by African slave labour, “the most invisible of invisible hands” (Shields 2009:7), addressed below in comparison with the experiences and housing of workmen of the Durham coalfield. The chapter is divided into sections that address key themes and considerations drawing on historical archaeology, architectural history, and historical accounts. The first section examines medieval and early modern conceptions of “property” as they relate to seventeenth and eighteenth century gentry culture in the Chesapeake and the Palatinate of County Durham, where the Chesapeake colonies may be understood as satellite regions of the British Empire politically and economically parallel to County Durham. The second section addresses the specific uses of estate landscapes at a number of selected

sites to explore comparative issues of access, interspatiality, mercantile functionality, and the stratification of spaces. This section in particular makes clear distinct approaches to housing and stratification of such which have been revealed through past historical archaeologies of plantation and urban culture in the region, paying particular attention to power relations (Orser 1988a), inferiority (McKee 1987), and interactions (Otto 1984:86) between planters and slaves. The illustrations of hierarchy and experience of landscape which are revealed through examination of selected archaeological case studies are then compared with contemporary situations in the Tyne Valley in order to illuminate the regionality of such systems, their reflections in architecture and redefinitions of the landscape, and common themes which allow for a more comprehensive understanding of early industrial landscapes on the local and global levels.

The third section builds on these points to analyse the ways in which estate culture was used on the level of the family, particularly as these correspond with the creation, maintenance, and promotion of “houses” in the familial sense of the word. In this section, the impact of polite and patriarchal societal roles (i.e. those roles and experiences of the planter, tenant, visitor, and slave within various landholdings) and Whiggism as influential upon housing culture is deconstructed and applied to interpretations of architectural initiatives among the coal barons of Tyneside. The final section explores the architectural design processes and individual sociopolitical objectives of the planters themselves as reflective of Whiggism and personal expressions of authority. These two final sections in particular explore the notion of a “Georgian Order” as discussed in Chapter II: “organized around the bilateral symmetry or the segmentary dividing of life, its functions and things, into parts arrayed into a hierarchy of isolated elements,” through which the social world appeared to be unquestionable (Leone 1984:26). Such objectives in architecture, the design of interior and exterior spaces, and behaviors created what Isaac has deemed a “Georgian space” which established hierarchy and prevented any attack on the established order (Isaac 1982, cited in Leone 1984:27). As argued in this thesis, such a Georgian language for behaviours (social, political, economic, and indeed architectural) was demonstrated in a commonality seen across regional boundaries, situating the coal baron and planter alike within a global class of the *élite*, but fundamentally reflected objectives for functionality and dwelling which were specific to the regions in question.

The focus of this chapter is on the housing, interspatiality, behaviours, and politics of dwelling of the Chesapeake region during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as shown in the historical and archaeological records, though some references to other regions are cited for comparison. The chapter does not concentrate on the interior layouts of buildings (see particularly Upton 1982 and Wenger 1986), nor does it make explicit use of small artefacts archaeology though references to such work are highlighted where appropriate (consulted texts which address this type of archaeological investigation include Deetz 1977 and 1988, Ferguson 1978, Anthony 1976, Lees & Kimery-Lees 1978, Wheaton & Garrow 1985 and 1989, Joseph 1989, Yentsch 1992, Emerson 1994, and Groover 1994; additional

bibliographies are provided in Orser 1990 and Singleton & Bograd 1995). The chapter also discusses urbanism in the Chesapeake region but only those developments occurring within the aforementioned timespan. Investigations of earlier urbanism such as that at Jamestown, Virginia, may be found in Horning 2000 and 2006, the latter of which presents a comparative look at plantations in Ulster and the Chesapeake which has influenced the methodology of the chapter.

Throughout these sections run a set of narrative themes which may provide continuity and relate disparate concepts to each other. Discussion shall focus on the period of the “Old Dominion” (the name given to this colony by Charles II in recognition of its royalist loyalty during the English Civil War) in Virginia and its contemporary period in Maryland c.1607-1776. Attention will also be devoted to the tobacco industry itself where from the mid-seventeenth century to the 1760s, total capital exports had grown from 1.5 million pounds per year (1637) to over 100 million in 1771-5 (Price 1964:496; cf. the rise of coal exports from Newcastle upon Tyne during this period, as discussed in Chapter III). Virginia and Maryland accounted for approximately sixty percent of all exports to England and Scotland, ninety percent of which was tobacco (Price 1964:496). As such, the industrial component (and its instability; Kierner 2000:185-6) of the Chesapeake is integral to any discussion of the region’s merchant élite.

The chapter will also use the life of one figure in particular, Robert Wormeley Carter (1734-1797), as a model for the typical planter (and heir), the so called “planter oligarch” (Wenger 1986:149), in order to highlight specific points and provide historical context. This method may echo the narrative arc provided by the life of Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Baronet Ravensworth in Chapters IV, V, and VI and in this manner will illuminate key themes which may be associated with mercantile-élite life in general.

Using a comparative approach serves to highlight parallel and in some cases intersecting landscapes of power and exploitation in a transatlantic context. The major illuminations of this comparative effort relate to promotion among neo-gentry and the various devices employed in achieving this. In both regions, these were “prestige-maximizers rather than profit-maximizers” (Stone & Stone 1984:15) operating amidst an expansion of the élite class during the seventeenth century (Billings 1970:413) which led in turn to a situation where gentry were free to exercise patriarchal authority (addressed especially in Isaac 2004, his second major publication on Virginia) within their respective localities (Laslett 1971:66, Jamoussi 1999:30). Wealth garnered entirely from profits of law, office, and/or business meant the building or remodelling of an estate using a common Georgian language for building (Upton 1980:96, Stone & Stone 1984:189, Wenger 1986:144). This served to bolster an associative link with neighbours, with lineage, with England (for those in the Chesapeake), and with the wider community of landed gentlemen. This was “a correspondence of academic form with local priorities” (Wenger 1986:144) which tied the Great House and its British architectural forms to its wider landscape (Waterman 1944) as the centre of the microcosmic society (Upton 1984:64; discussed further below) that was the plantation or estate.

The consequence of efforts towards promotion and distinction was a deep-seated culture of hierarchy with the Great House serving as the setting for social exchange and the presentation of good hospitality (Reay 1980:389). The landscape of the gentry house was based on a dynamic relationship with its elements where each visitor experienced its different components in accordance with their rank, gender, and occupation (Upton 1984:59, 63). Plantations were nucleated villages (Prunty 1955:465-466) with hierarchical systems embedded into their designs. As is argued in this chapter and thesis, the same may be said of the early modern coalfield of County Durham and Northumberland. Within a patriarchal society as such, the roles assigned and achieved by members of the family and their assorted dependents (coalminers, slaves, and/or tenants of lesser status; see Green & Parkinson 2006:lxvii-lxxiv) dictated much about the ways in which space, access, family continuity, and political participation functioned. This is a key issue and is addressed throughout. As this chapter shall seek to highlight, early modern conceptions of power, authority, and autonomy informed and influenced the creation of an open society of landowners, and particularly so in regions removed from London as the metropole of the British world, though it is argued here that transatlantic British culture was also diffuse (see Armitage & Braddick 2002). These concepts in turn influenced notions of property, ownership, and personal identity that were reflected in the regional design and use of estates, evolving over the period of the Old Dominion along what may be described as a trajectory parallel to that of early modern industrial County Durham.

Property, Power, and Creating Lineage

One primary objective of this thesis is to highlight the connections which may be drawn between "property" and gentry culture and maintaining distinction, particularly where these relate to concepts of ownership and participation within a larger élite society. In understanding these connections it is possible to show correlations between forms and locations of properties, the political conceptions and implications of property and land ownership (particularly as these pertain to Whiggism), and the individual narratives of creating lineage to last beyond the lifetimes of their originators. In this manner it is necessary to provide an analysis of the very concept of property during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see especially Brewer & Staves 1995, sections of which are referenced below) and to trace its development, retention, and effects on the wider landscape. The history of such developments in the Chesapeake region of Virginia and Maryland provides an excellent point of comparison to contemporary developments in County Durham both in correlations in architectural reflections of growing industry and in terms of the application of a research model. **It is the intention of this section to examine early modern conceptions of property (and their medieval antecedents) and in doing so to draw on specific examples and contexts on both sides of the Atlantic which may demonstrate key themes raised by this exploration.** [perhaps cut]

Following Stone and Stone, "entry [into the élite gentry class] was possible either through the purchase of an already established country seat whose previous owner had sold out, or through inheritance or

purchase of a smaller house (and estate) which was then enlarged as a visible token of increasing and aspiring status" (1984:8). The key phrase here is "a visible token," where it is implied that the upwardly aspiring family required a suitable outward display of its worth and, most importantly, its lineage. Once an estate was acquired and necessary improvements were made to ensure a positive outward reception, a family could be considered a "House" and be distinguished as such (see Green 1999 where the fictive nature of "house societies" is discussed in reference to claims by Lévi-Strauss). Presenting such an outward statement would encourage, govern, and preserve a house's reputation and legacy, and provide a system of continuity for the family (Stone & Stone 1984:69).

Once such a property was obtained, the family could begin to create a lineage, or ancestral claim, to be associated with a specific place or region. This step was not only a means to ensuring posterity and the fortune of descendants but also a key point of entry into matters and rights associated with (and often exclusively the territory of) gentry culture. This connection is made more acute when considering laws which required the "ownership" of land in order to participate in government (Brewer 1997:308), which is discussed below, and especially during periods of conflict (e.g. the English Civil War, the Glorious Revolution, and the American Revolution) when the political worth of the family was seen to be interconnected with its association with important estates (and vice versa) (e.g. the awarding of the Baronetcy to Thomas Liddell for loyalties to Charles I, c.1642; see also Isaac 2004 where the American Revolution is discussed as a crisis of ideological and patriarchal authority and loyalty to the Crown). Acquiring an estate meant founding a "county family" (Namier 1961:19) where "wealth consists of an accumulation, or the command, of goods and chattels; the idea of an inalienable property, cherished beyond its patent value, arises from the land" (Namier 1961:18) and a family could thenceforth be associated with a particular place within the Virginia or Maryland colonies. In "founding" such an estate the family redefined the appearance and experience of the landscape and as well as actively participating in a landscape shared by the wealthiest landowners. Regardless of political affiliation (both Tories and Whigs acknowledged this), the connection is made between land ownership and a share in the state and its affairs, where the landowner not only had a right and duty but also an imperative to manage the interests of his or her landholdings as separate from yet entitled within the larger county or national landscape (see especially Langford 1991 and 1992). Following Defoe, "I make no question but property of land is the best title to government in the World" (1702:16).

In terms of a precedent for such developments in the Chesapeake region, it is most appropriate to examine the founding of Maryland and the drafting of its first charter. The form and content of Maryland's charter was explicitly based in large part upon the example of the County Palatine of Durham (see especially Browne 1884, with thanks to the work of Dr. Tim Thornton of the University of Huddersfield). As detailed in the charter in relation to the organization of churches and church authority in Maryland, all such practices in the colony were to regarded

as ample Rights, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Prerogatives, Royalties, Liberties, Immunities, and royal Rights, and temporal Franchises whatsoever, as well by Sea as by Land, within the Region, Islands, Islets, and Limits aforesaid, to be had, exercised, used, and enjoyed, as any Bishop of Durham, within the Bishoprick or County Palatine of Durham, in our Kingdom of England, ever heretofore hath had, held, used, or enjoyed, or of right could, or ought to have, hold, use, or enjoy (Yale Law School 2016).

The charter of c.1632 was obtained by the principal settler of the region, George Calvert 1st Lord Baltimore, whose family had originated at Oulcotes, North Yorkshire, near to the border with County Durham from before the fifteenth century (Nicklin 1947:50; after Thornton 2001a:244-5): a region of Yorkshire which was heavily influenced by the Palatinate of Durham (see Emsley 1975). From 1594, Calvert was educated at Trinity College, Oxford (founded on the site of Durham College, the Oxford offshoot of the monastery at Durham) which still had strong ties to the County Palatine in the late sixteenth century (Morris 1874:7). Calvert may also have been schooled in Durham (Thornton 2001a:247). Such an upbringing is reflective of a late medieval experience of the Durham Palatinate during the period immediately preceding overhauls of this political, economic, and social system during the later seventeenth century where until the abolishment of feudal land tenure under the Tenures Abolition Act of 1660 (Raithby 1819:259-66), manorial constructions of land “ownership” as controlled by a central authority (i.e. the bishop) governed conceptions of landscapes and political oversight.

While the origins of the Lord Baltimore’s inspiration are compelling within the context of this thesis, the actual application of this “Palatine model” (exercised most powerfully in Durham, cf. Earl of Chester, Duke of Lancaster; Pollard 1990:160-3) and the associated powers of the first Lord Baltimore (Maryland’s “absolute proprietary”; Goodrich 1857:1106) are worth exploring further, especially considering the possibility for Maryland’s charter providing a model for land ownership and governance in other colonies in the early American colonial period (Thornton 2001a:235). Though earlier works on the subject include those of Spearman (1729), Hutchinson (1823), and Surtees (1816-40), it was not until the turn of the twentieth century that the idea of Durham’s County Palatinate was put forth as a kingdom within a kingdom, a sort of microcosm of the English kingdom as a whole (Lapsley 1900) where the direction and maintenance of the county in most situations were the jurisdiction and responsibility of the Prince Bishop. While much of this power was stripped during the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries under Tudor and Yorkist monarchs, the earlier bishops of Durham had possessed authority neither equal to nor below that of the monarch even following Henry VIII’s reforming of the king’s sovereignty for the area (Kitching 1987:50). The Palatinates of Durham and Chester (Harris 1979:98) may be considered “peripheral” territories of the Crown (Thornton 2001a:240), each of these looking to London for central authority and nationhood yet existing as fundamentally separate in matters of land management and possession. This was in much the same manner that Maryland and the other American colonies formed part of a wider English (and from 1707 “British”) landscape.

While not directly associated with the Palatine model as employed in Maryland, it is important to address similar parallel systems in Virginia especially those in place during the period immediately preceding and following Bacon's Rebellion (c.1676). This is also a crucial point for comparison between the Chesapeake and County Durham as a member of the Liddell family, being one George Liddell (baptised 30 September 1634 in Lamesley, the grandson of Sir Thomas Liddell 1st Bt Ravensworth; see Issue of Liddell Family at the beginning of this thesis), was directly involved with the incident as a recent immigrant to the Virginia Colony. This George Liddell (spelled as "Lyddall" or "Lydal" as it is recorded on a stone in the churchyard of Saint Peters Episcopal Church, Putneys Mill, New Kent County, VA; Blake 2010) emigrated to Virginia in approximately 1654 alongside members of the Woodward, Bacon, Honniwood, and Hammond families and settled in New Kent County (will proved there 28 January 1705) where he obtained seven hundred acres of land (marriage agreement in Clopton Papers, Duke University Archives; cited in Harris 1979:173). George's older brother Sir Thomas Liddell, baptised 1603, had married the daughter of George Woodward and Elizabeth Honniwood (Harris 1979:172). Along with members of the Bacon family with whom he had become close allies (Liddell's daughter Ann married Edmund Bacon), Liddell established a plantation and became active in regional politics, serving as a captain in the local militia and commanding the fort at Mattaponi during the Rebellion.

This is an excellent example of the rate at which immigrant families could ascend to positions of power in the colonies where regional authority was a local institution rather than one dictated entirely by mainland British political systems. The formation of eight Virginia counties in 1634 after the issuing of the Maryland charter c.1632 (Tyler 1906:236) followed earlier subdivisions based on "hundreds" (a piece of land larger than a parish but smaller than a county; Deetz 1995:19). Archaeological investigations of such early settlements including Noël Hume's excavation of the 1619 settlement at Martin's Hundred, later to be used as the site of Robert "King" Carter's Carter grove from 1709, between 1976 and 1983 (Noël Hume 2001:333-35; see also Noël Hume 1982) and of Flowerdew Hundred, also a plantation by 1619 as it was represented in the first Virginia General Assembly that year (Deetz 1995:19-20), between the 1960s and 1995 (see Deetz 1995, who led the final excavations), have revealed organisations of landscape based on seventeenth-century plantations in Ulster, Ireland, with symmetrical rows of houses flanking a village green terminating at a fort (Deetz 1995:41, Horning 2013:167; see also Garvan 1951 who first drew these connections). These were distinct impositions upon a foreign landscape aimed towards establishing an English system of power and control over the landscape and its resources, both of which were represented in Virginia legislature until 1634. In essence, plantation design of this sort provided symbols of authority over the landscape which entitled the possessor to a stake in local politics.

The rapid extension of county governments in the middle part of the seventeenth century meant that political advancement became far swifter for established and newcomer planters and plantations. It should be noted that 32.3 percent of those identified as justices, burgesses, or councilors during the

period c.1660-1676 had arrived in Virginia themselves before 1645 or were the sons of those who had, meaning that nearly 70 percent of political figures were new to the colony (Billings 1970:413). That said, it was the daughters and sisters of this small fraction of early colonists who provided many incoming families with a place within elite sociopolitical circles, and with a doubling of the number of counties during the period following 1640 (Morton 1960:219), wealthy immigrant landholders were ideally positioned for creating political prestige in the New World. Other examples include intercolonial positions of power such as that of the Emperor family of Barbados whose commercial and political position in the Caribbean (the plantation archaeology of this region is addressed in Armstrong & Reitz 1990 and Hicks 2007) was enriched by additional settlement in Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, in around 1650, when a Francis Emperor established a plantation there at the age of twenty-two and rose to serve as county court justice, surveyor, high sheriff, and collector within the first ten years of settlement (Moriarty 1913:419, cited in Hatfield 2004:92).

Despite the breakdown of the Palatine Model and its manorial landscape following Bacon's Rebellion, which may be seen as invigorating dissent for the proprietorial government of the Lords Baltimore (Brugger 1996:35) and the Glorious Revolution of 1689 which removed the Catholic Lord Baltimore from power after not recognizing the new Protestant king and queen of England (Israel 2003:131-2, Martinez 2008-10:306; see also Hall 1964), the lingering effects of an "autonomous" legislating body may be understood as playing some significant part in fostering a society where autonomy and conformity, distinction and territoriality, dictated the relationships of those seeking to exist and thrive within it. A role in government was "the right, privilege and responsibility of the landed gentleman" (Perkin 1978:56, in reference to early modern England) and was indeed an indicator of local status (Stone & Stone 1984:246). As Charles Carroll II wrote to his son (later to be known as Charles Carroll of Carrollton),

"It is a shame for a Gentleman to be ignorant of the Laws of his Country and to be dependent on every dirty Pettyfogger [i.e. a lawyer]. [...] On the other hand, how commendable it is for a Gentleman of independent fortune not only [not] to stand in need of mercenary Advisors, but to be able to advise and assist his Friends, Relations, and Neighbors of all sorts" (6 Oct 1759, quoted in Barker 1940:7).

For Robert Wormeley Carter (1734-1797), whose roles may be seen as typical of sons of Virginia planters, this meant beginning as a justice of the peace for the county court c.1767 and being appointed a churchwarden the following year (where, incidentally, he was entrusted to supervise construction at a workhouse for the parish: an example of the gentleman-amateur practice in architecture which shall be discussed at length below). In the year following (c.1769) Carter was elected to the House of Burgesses where he served continuously until 1776 and remained on the Committee of Propositions and Grievances (also serving were two of his cousins, both called Charles Carter, Richard Lee, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Edmund Pendleton; Morton 1946:350-1). To compare, Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Bt Ravensworth served as High Sheriff of County Durham in 1689, was Member of

Parliament for Durham and Newcastle 1700-5 and 1706-10 (Mosley 2003:3288), and his sons followed suit (Thomas Liddell was M.P. for Lostwithiel in 1715, George Liddell was M.P. for Berwick c.1727-40; Surtees 1820:207-18).

Beyond highlighting the personal accomplishments of particular planters and coal owners, this information serves to encapsulate the general proclivity of the landed gentry towards participation in the governing of their “own” territories where the political and financial interests of the landowner were perhaps just as important as his duty to protect and nourish the property he held. Retaining this property (and the autonomy it afforded) was a most crucial issue, perhaps second only to mercantile interests. The estate was the foundation of a family’s prosperity, social status, and political influence (Jamoussi 1999:14) and provided both a means towards and a justification for propertied political participation which in turn created and maintained a culture of mercantile oligarchs in this region of the New World (see Cromar 1977, in reference to the coal industry in County Durham).

Seventeenth and eighteenth century conceptions of power and property were intimately connected to and influential upon each other. While not necessarily carried through after the Revolution of 1689, the so-called “Palatine Model” of dominance over industry and landscape as employed in County Durham (Hardy 1874:1014-15) may have provided an initial point of origin for what would evolve to become a landed society of primarily Whig affiliation deeply concerned with autonomy and the maintaining of such through creation of legacy. Ideas of power and the sovereignty of regions as distinct from the authority of London-based ruling bodies created a culture based on notions of liberty and freedom to exist as distinct: notions which informed and influenced the use and layout of estate landscapes as well as the role of the landowner in regional government. The colony (as well as the governing assembly of the colony) was loyal to and legitimated by the “elder-patriarchal loyalty to the fatherhood symbol of the Crown” (Isaac 2004:175, in reference to Landon Carter’s enduring attachment to the king despite disagreements over legislation) though the generation and operation of the estate was solely the domain of the individual, in that the presentation, political representation, and mercantile productivity of the plantation rested on the objectives and efforts of the planter. By looking at landscape and archaeology, these concepts of ownership can be appreciated as they relate to specific choices in landscape design and to the sets of behaviours and roles which informed the use and management of such spaces.

Situating the ‘House’: Landscape and Function

One of the fundamental parallels between merchant gentry in County Durham and Northumberland and those in the New World colonies (Virginia and Maryland in particular) was the relationships with and “ownership” of wide landscapes. These were “open” landscapes where the particular holdings of the gentry were spread over large areas and were not necessarily bounded. At the centre of these was the Great House (Smith 1980): the nucleus of the microcosmic society of the plantation yet carefully tied to the wider landscape (Upton 1984:64). Following Isaac, “the great house was essential in sustaining the

master's part in social drama. [...] It stood in a dialectic relationship to him, for it took meaning from his social existence, and in turn, it contributed powerfully to the shaping of his patterns of behavior" (Isaac 1999:354).

This section will not necessarily follow a rubric of house histories but will focus instead on the uses of estate landscapes at a number of key comparative sites as a means towards understanding the concept of an "open élite" (Stone & Stone 1984). Estate cultures in County Durham and the Chesapeake developed simultaneously and independently: both were at a distance from the centre of England's political, social, and indeed architectural advancement at London, yet catered to and were influenced by their specific industries. In this manner it may be possible to apply models of housing and landscape historical research to a contemporary region of the British world in County Durham and Northumberland. To accomplish this, it is necessary to examine the processes responsible for the creation of an estate culture in the Chesapeake, to interpret perceptions of such landscapes from multiple perspectives (i.e. the planters, their enslaved Africans, and outsiders), and to make use of existing research on relevant estates in efforts to establish comparative models and apply these to a wider conversation about élite housing culture in general.

In 1732, the Englishman William Hugh Grove travelled to Virginia and recorded his first impressions of settlement in that colony:

"I went ship up the [York] river, which has pleasant Seats on the Bank which Shew Like little villages, for having Kitchens, Dayry houses, Barns, Stables, Store houses, and some of them 2 or 3 Negro Quarters all Separate from Each other but near the mansion houses. [...] [They] make a shew to the river of 7 or 8 distinct Tenements, tho all belong to one family. [...] I saled up the [Mattaponi] which divide[s] King and Queen County from King William. [...] The North side [...] is Thick seated with gentry on its Banks with in a Mile or at most 2 mile from Each other. [...] Most of These have pleasant Gardens and the Prospect of the River render them very pleasant [and] equall to the Thames from London to Richmond, supposing the Towns omitted" (Stiverson & Butler 1977:26-8).

Settlement of Virginia was not based on the proliferation of town centres but rather on settlement which grew from an agrarian and sea-based landscape. The later development of towns and specifically an impetus towards constructing townhouses is discussed further below, particularly as it compares to the practices of Tyneside coal barons in Durham City, Newcastle, and London. When Grove visited the region, he was greeted with an arrangement of housing based on proximity to water (significant in terms of access, views, and visibility) which had spread inland as various tracts were acquired and put to use as plantations (Figure 60; Nomini Hall is an example of this concept, where the property stood near a fork in the River Nomini; Fithian 1968:80-2). In the early years of the colony, land was awarded based on a system of "head rights," where fifty acres were allowed for every man, woman, child, servant, or slave, meaning that those men who were responsible for the care (or use) of many subordinates would thus be entitled to greater shares of property (Risch 1937:6). This ordered system of division was a distinct

creation of the arriving or colonising parties imposed upon a foreign landscape which Isaac calls “the great cultural metaphor of patriarchy” that combined with the operation of money, a form of property, to form the character of a “new” or “improved” landscape (Isaac 1999:20-2).



Figure 60: The Plantation, 1825, unknown artist. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 63.201.3

At the centre of these estates was the Big House, in effect the microcosmic centre within the wider domain of a family (Upton 1984:64). As René Durand explained, writing in 1687, “when you come to the home of a person of some means, you think you are entering a fairly large village” (Rasmussen 1982:211). According to the Reverend Hugh Jones, another visitor writing in 1724,

“Thus neither the interest nor inclinations of the Virginians induce them to cohabit in towns; so that they are not forward in [...] the making of particular places, every plantation affording the owner the provision of a little market; wherefore they most commonly build upon some convenient [...] neck of land in their own plantation” (Goodwin 1955:10).

Perhaps the best example of this microcosmic approach to the designed landscape is Gunston Hall (Fairfax County, VA), the planter George Mason’s brick mansion with associated outbuildings and grounds, likely completed soon after 1755 with interiors by the indentured joiner William Buckland. While the architectural style (and implications) of the main house and its interiors are discussed below, it is important to emphasise here the tone and interspatiality of the house’s surroundings (Figure 61), best described by General John Mason (b.1766, son of George Mason) writing in 1832 (quoted in Rowland 1892:98):

"On the [south] front you descended directly into an extensive garden, touching the house on one side and reduced form the natural irregularity of the hill to a perfect level platform, the southern extremity of which was bounded by a spacious walk running eastwardly and westwardly, from which there was by the natural and sudden declivity of the hill a rapid descent to the plain considerably below it. [...] On the north front [...] was an extensive lawn kept closely pastured, through the midst of which lead a spacious avenue, girded by long durable row of [...] stately cherry trees [...] commencing about two hundred feet from the house and extending thence for about twelve hundred feet, the carriage way being in the center and the footways on either side, between the two rows. [...] A common centre was established exactly in the middle of the outer doorway, on that front, at which were made to diverge at a certain angle the four lines on which these trees were planted. [...]"

"To the west of the main building were first the school house, and then at a little distance, masked by a row of large English walnut trees, were the stables. To the east was a high paled yard, adjoining the house, into which opened an outer door from the private [east] front, within, or connected with which yard, were the kitchen, well, poultry houses, and other domestic arrangements; and beyond it on the same side were the cornhouse and granary, servants' houses (in those days called negro quarters), hay yard and cattle pens, all of which were masked by rows of large cherry and mulberry trees."

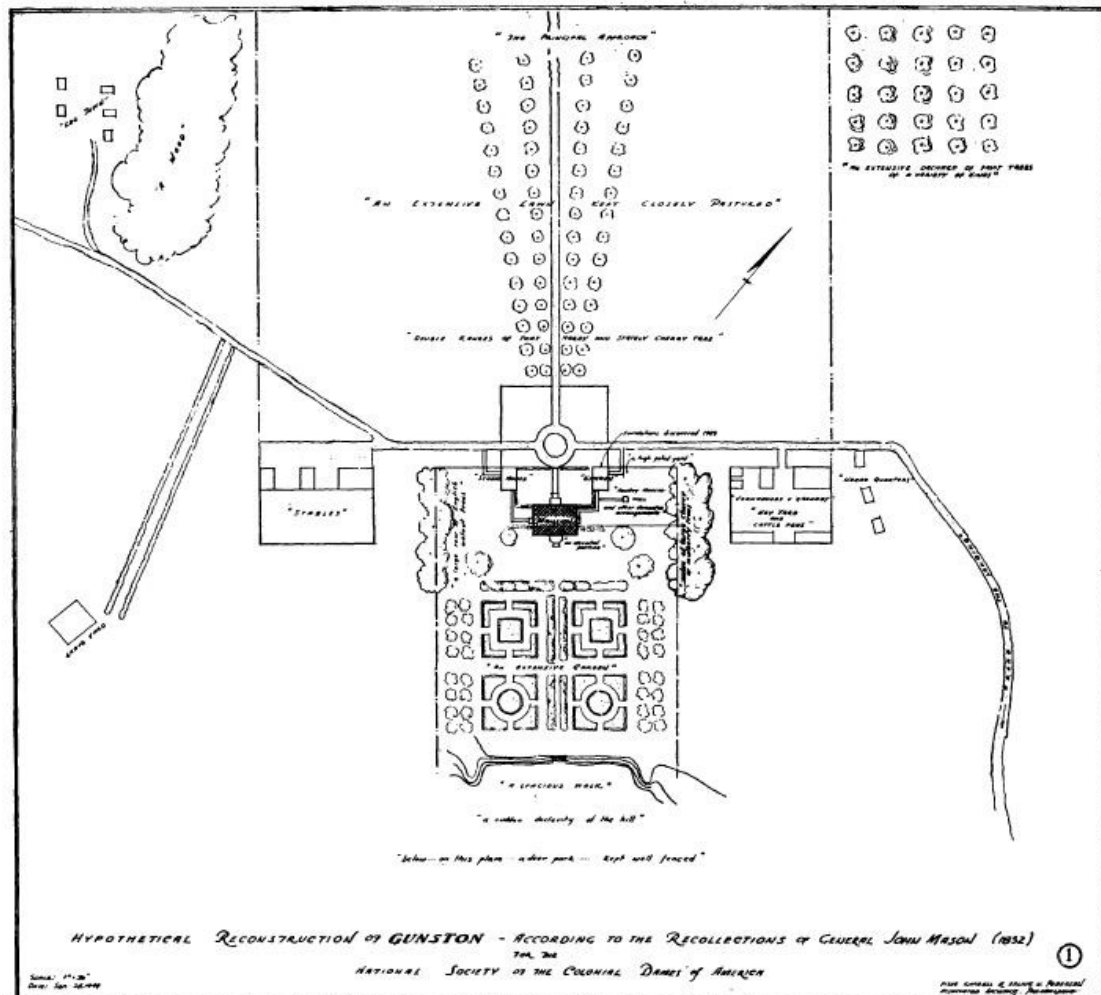


Figure 61: Gunston Hall, reconstruction of the grounds. Kimball 1954:7, copyright permission pending

Here the mansion house was positioned at the centre of a wider landscape which included all features necessary for a small settlement (including access to water, with the estate situated on the Potomac). Formal gardens (and their associated buildings) and an avenue abutted the house, with more domestic structures radiating outwards from the central point. These included a school house for early education of the children (cf. the endowment of charity schools in Tanfield, County Durham, by the Bowes family; Green 2004), heralded in contemporary publications as a top priority and necessity for the preservation of a family lineage: the most critical of investments for eighteenth century gentry society (e.g. *The Tatler*, 1709-11, and *The Spectator*, 1711-12; Jamoussi 1999:40). To compare, Nomini Hall was surrounded by such features as avenues lined with poplars, stables, schoolhouse, mill, and various formal gardens (Fithian 1968:80-2). Within and immediately adjacent to this estate, the Mason family could effectively carry out tobacco farming while maintaining at once a sort of participatory oversight of plantation practices and the exclusivity of the Big House (see especially Armstrong & Reitz 1990). The estate functioned as the location for the political, industrial, educational, social, and presentational requisites of a well-nurtured gentry way of life and, due to the nature of delegation of family holdings management and tenancy of the wider holdings (Carter Papers, Folder 13, W&M College Library and Will of Robert Wormeley Carter, Richmond County Records, Will Book IX, 73, cited in Morton 1946:360; see also Morton 1941:70, Bliss 1950:427, and Brewer 1997:337, citing McCusker & Renard 1985), was effectively an open landscape under the care of a hierarchical system of oversight.

This arrangement of landscape at Gunston provides an ideal point of comparison for coal owners' estates in County Durham, particularly Ravensworth and Gibside where industrial activity was situated just on the fringes of the formal estate parkland (see Figure 62, Fryer's 1785 map shown in Figure 9, and the reconstruction of Gibside's eighteenth century parkland, Figure 18). For Ravensworth, such activity surrounds the estate on all sides with Ravensworth Ann Colliery (also known as Team Colliery, opened c.1726, one of the oldest and longest-running collieries in the Tyne River region, described in Chapter III; Durham Mining Museum 2015a) to the southeast, Low Moor Colliery to the east, and the collieries of Whickham to the north (Levine & Wrightson 1991). For Gibside, Daniel Garrett and James Paine's Banqueting Hall (Garrett died during construction of this and other structures on the property), begun in the 1740s (Pears 2013:84), and perched at the top of its tree-lined avenue overlooking an octagonal fishpond, offered exquisite views to the north and west of the Bladon Main colliery and other associated coalmining settlements (described by Edward Montagu at Gibside, 29 July 1753; Climenson 2011:36-7). This same idea of elevated oversight was present at Newton Hall, where the Liddell family was afforded views of Durham Cathedral, Durham Castle, and the miles of coalfields surrounding.

The key point to emphasise here is the elevated yet integrated positions from which views of the industrial landscape could be appreciated. The main house at Nomini Hall (built around 1726 by Robert "King" Carter for his son, also called Robert; original square brick house destroyed by fire c.1850 and replaced with a timber frame structure which stands at present; Mesrobian 2009:20), for example, stood

“on a high piece of land [and could] be seen [from] a considerable distance” (Fithian 1968:80). For both Gibside and Ravensworth, the position of the viewer was quite literally above the associated landscape and housing of its workers (discussed below) which produced the raw materials responsible for the wealth and prestige of the coal-owning family (as discussed in Chapter IV and in Green 2010). Though the house of the planter was most certainly exclusive in its centralised location, the same of which is true for Gibside and Ravensworth, participation with the mechanisms of industry (i.e. African slave-driven agriculture) was far more active with slave quarters situated within the estate parkland and in many cases nearby to the Great House. That said, it is useful to highlight the situations of Ravensworth and Lumley Castle with associated waggonways and The Trench, in the case of Ravensworth (discussed in Chapters III and IV), running directly through the formal estates. For the estates of coal barons on Tyneside, the medieval characters of these landscapes were manipulated to accomplish objectives of industrial functionality. In these cases, integration of the devices of industry into polite living was directly redefining the primary purpose of the estate to actively engage with the industry that served the landholder.

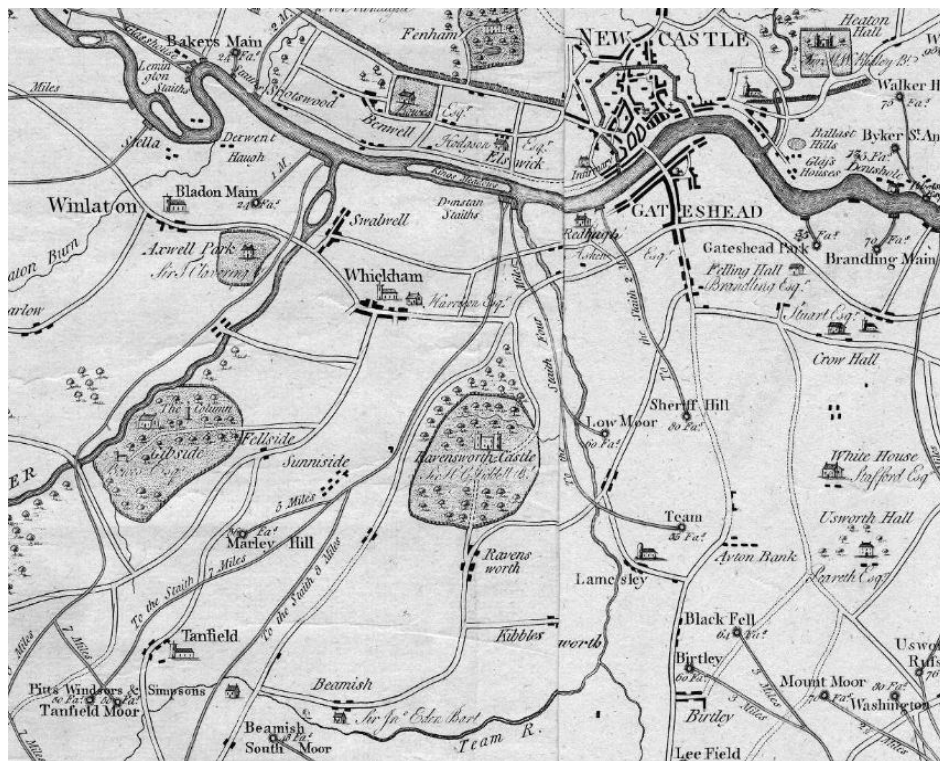


Figure 62: Detail of Plan of the Collieries on the Rivers Tyne and Wear
John Gibson 1788 (DUL NSR Planfile C 22/5)

By drawing distinction between the industrial or mercantile objectives of the family and their place within gentry society, particularly as this pertains to formal gardens as both a foil to the industrial functionality of the estate and as integrated within such landscapes, the planter was able to project control over lands he possessed and simultaneously define the roles which should be observed within the estate. Though removed from plantation itself, the historical archaeology of the William Paca garden provides an example of this dichotomy, where “the deliberately planned wilderness garden exemplifies

[...] the contradictions of a society proclaiming freedom and independence but maintaining a system of slavery” (Leone 1984:25). To compare with the Liddell family’s estate at Newton Hall presented in Chapter IV and following the principles of the “Georgian Order” discussed in Chapter II and at the onset of this chapter, the garden represented control over and distinction within the landscape, in this case the urban landscape of Annapolis, Maryland.

Built in the 1760s by William Paca (an accomplished lawyer, descendent of planters, and signer of the Declaration of the Independence; Leone 1988b:32) along with a five-part, two-and-a-half-storey mansion with dependencies on either side (Figure 63; cf. Drayton Hall near Charleston, South Carolina, excavated between 1975 and 1982; Lewis 1985:122), the garden that exists today is a reconstruction which resulted from documentary research and archaeological excavation in the 1960s and 1970s. The basic format of this Georgian landscape is a central path flanked by formal parterres beginning at a set of stairs which lead the visitor physically and visually down into the garden (cf. Newton Hall where this principle is employed, discussed in Chapter IV). The visitor is then separated from the surrounding landscape. In the case of the Paca garden, this wider landscape is central Annapolis (discussed further in Leone 2005). This is a significant statement of both escape and control where the political and mercantile functions of the urban landscape are left behind by the person or group of people fortunate enough to experience this smaller, portioned piece of land. As reconstructed following excavation (Figure 63), the garden makes use of these terraces to achieve a view from the house or origin of the path that draws the viewer’s eye immediately to the “open pasture” at the northeast end. In this manner, vistas are preserved from each successive descent further into the garden to create the illusion of forthcoming spaces being further than they actually are (Leone 1984:31-2). Rows of hedges on either sides of the garden assist in creating this illusion, making the space appear to be longer, essentially applying Renaissance strategies of perspective to construct false notions of distance. Similar arrangements may be found at Belair Mansion, Prince George’s County, MD, begun in 1745 (Sarudy 1998:158) and at the Mount Clare estate, Baltimore, excavated in 1984 by Cheek (Weber 1996:39).

Paca did not originate from wealth but rather married into his fortune (Leone 1984:33). Such a declaration of individual freedom and control over one’s personal landscape (see discussions of “property” above) was made in stark contrast to the institution of slavery in the colony and even for a person who was relatively new to the élite, distinction between classes as can be seen in the design and construction of Paca’s garden in Annapolis was necessary for the protection and preservation of both his own status and the organization of hierarchical society in general. This drive towards distinction from other classes as expressed in architecture may be compared to that expressed by the slaves themselves; such distinctions as necessitated by created systems of power may then be considered alongside the situations of pitmen in County Durham where housing was tied directly to the industry which demanded the labour force yet may also be seen as creating behaviours and practices specific to those who served the industrial landholders (i.e. families such as the Liddells and Bowes).

Intimately connected with the exclusionary design of such gardens was the experience of enslaved Africans. As such, the arrangement of such housing and its place within the estate is a key area of interest for this chapter and thesis. According to an account from the 1730s, “a Negro Quarter, is a Number of Huts or Hovels, built some Distance from the Mansion-House; where the Negroes reside with their Wives and Families, and cultivate at vacant Times the little Spots allow’d them” (Kimber 1746:327; Figure 64; the archaeological analysis of living conditions in such structures is addressed in Ascher & Fairbanks 1971, Fairbanks 1974, Singleton 1980, and particularly Otto 1984 and Smolenski 2003, and in Crader 1984, 1989, and 1990 and McKee 1987 where archaeological data relating to food are discussed as they relate to status). From the point of view of the masters, slave quarters were part of a wider, working landscape and thus their placement was dictated by the overarching hierarchy of spatial arrangements, their exteriors often made more presentable if they were visible from the main house (Upton 1984:63) particularly following acts of 1727 and 1748 which allowed slaves to be bound to a piece of land as well as a particular person (Hening 1969:IV, 225; V, 432-43; see especially Smolenski 2003). Other times the quarters were hidden away from the more formal portion of the estate but their arrangement remained a careful operation on the part of the master. “The master’s landscape was a network that implied connection and movement,” while that of the slave “was a static one of discrete places” (Upton 1984:68).

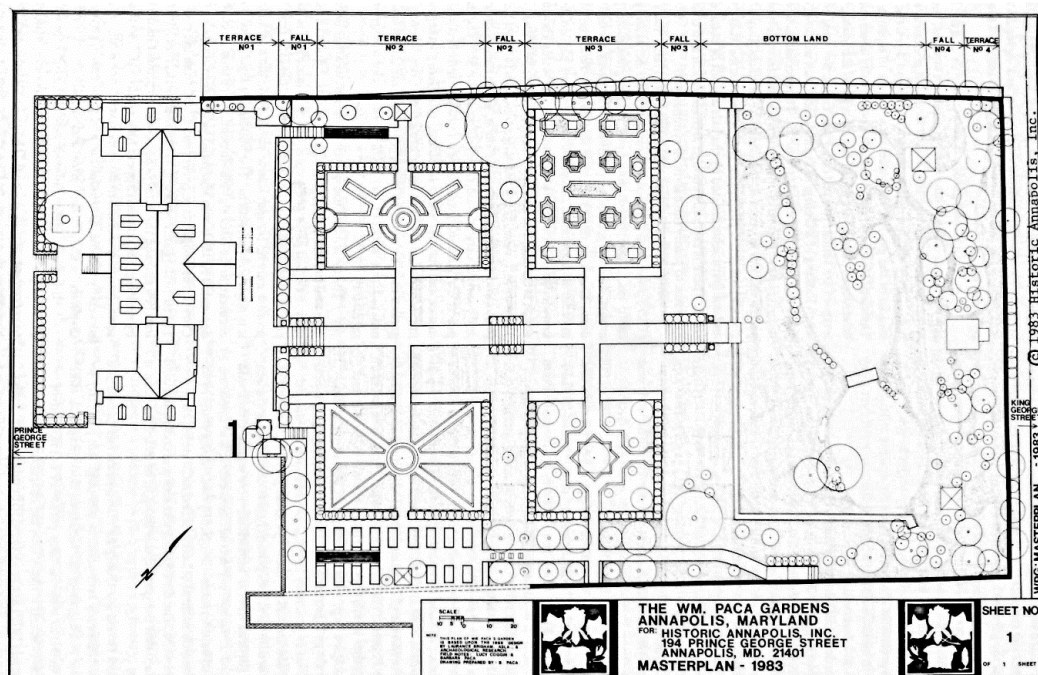


Figure 63 Reconstruction of William Paca Garden, Annapolis, MD
(Leone 1984:30, copyright permission pending)

For the purposes of this thesis, an analogy may be drawn between Afro-Virginian slaves and pitmen, and while the former group were not technically slaves, the bonds of employment discussed in Chapter III tended to create an industry which kept hold of its workers and, as such, dictated the planning and allocation of housing. That said, this discussion should not be understood as equating slavery and bonds of employment in any way, where to be enslaved for life with no prospect of individual freedom, and to

be treated as property based upon skin colour, is fundamentally different than experiencing wage labour, however oppressive that system may have been. Rather, it should be understood that this comparison seeks to unpack the nature and location of housing such labourers in relation to the wider estate planning initiatives of the comparative merchant élite. Such housing is discussed at length in Levine and Wrightson's seminal book on the parish of Whickham (1991), the proximity and visibility of such housing from the point of view of the coal owner indicates a landscape contiguous between that of the coal owner and of the pitman, with the former positioned omnisciently above the latter, quite literally in the cases of Ravensworth, Gibside, and Newton Hall. The plantation's dominance over the labour force (as addressed in Leone 1984:26, Orser 1987 and 1988b, Epperson 1990, and Howson 1990) and integration of such into its design, functionality, and social framework may be understood as analogous with that of the coal baron's estate on Tyneside, particularly those of the Liddell and Lumley families where the industrial functions of the landscape as well as the labour of those employed in this industry were placed on display for the visitor's inspection and admiration (e.g. The Trench, Old Ravensworth Way, and those waggonways which stretched through the interior of the Lumley Estate, as discussed in Chapters III and IV).



Figure 64: Stone slave cabin built by Charles Carroll II around 1727 (Giemza 2012:44)

As addressed in the introduction to this chapter, the plantation was a nucleated village with a cluster of quarters and service buildings situated compactly around or near the main house (Prunty 1955:465-466) following a basic Georgian symmetry (Waterman 1945:17). As is discussed in this chapter in reference to specific case studies, such symmetry may be seen as having represented the segregation of behaviours within the family unit, the ideas of the person as individual, and the establishing and maintaining of social hierarchy. The placement of slave quarters was generally to one side of a central courtyard in relative proximity to the main house: a reflection of the status of the occupants in the social structure of the

plantation (Anthony 1976:13). Analyses of artefacts recovered from the areas surrounding the Big House and each of the other structures on plantations sites confirm the systematic distribution of and status differentiation between activities, indicating as well the arrangement and hierarchy of social functions, especially where documentary sources do not clarify the nature and/or actual locations of structures and activities (see especially investigations of Middleton Place and Hampton, South Carolina, in Lewis 1979, 1980, and 1985).

Singleton cites the examples of excavations at Curriboo and Yaughan, former indigo plantations in Berkeley County, South Carolina, which have indicated that African architectural solutions (mud walls with roofs presumably covered with thatched palmetto leaves) were used between 1740 and 1790 after which these were replaced by frame dwellings (Singleton 1996:147). That said, it has been suggested that “despite the apparent persistence of certain African architectural traits, most planters openly discouraged African style huts on their plantations” (Otto 1984:43; see particularly Sobel 1987, Howson 1990, Singleton 1991, Ferguson 1992, Yentsch 1994, and Franklin 1995). Other examples of colonial slave housing include those recovered during excavations at the Kingsmill plantations near Williamsburg, VA (Kelso 1984:121-123 and Walker 1988), at Jefferson’s Monticello (Kelso 1986:13 and Heath 2007:137-43; see also Singleton & Bograd 1995 where ceramics recovered at Monticello are discussed in terms of status), and at Washington’s Mount Vernon (Pogue 1990:35-40; see also Pogue 1994), each of these studies indicating the presence of distinct slave quarters of varying sizes in relatively close proximity to the central Big House (it is worth mentioning that Washington Hall in County Durham was connected to ancestors of George Washington; T&W HER 354). The latter of these two plantations is illustrated in Figure 65 which shows the quarters situated along the northeast straight of the main U-shaped enclosure.

To compare with coalfield of County Durham, the positioning of pitmen’s housing, along with the collieries, waggonways, and pit heaps, was frequently in accordance with clauses in the leases themselves in order to minimize the visual impact of industrial practices upon the mansions of the estate owners (Ward & Wilson 1971:173-204, cited in Sill 1984:151). Using the early nineteenth century example of Hetton Downs colliery, it is recorded that the Hetton Coal Company built at least 100 rows and courts of pitmen’s cottages from 1822 (when coal was first drawn) to 1827 (1827 plan of the parish of Houghton-le-Spring, Durham University Diocesan Record; cited in Sill 1984:151). As seen in the First Edition 1857 Ordnance Survey map (Figure 66), Hetton Hall was situated directly adjacent to these rows of cottages built for workers. No such arrangement is known to have existed for collieries belonging to or leased by the Liddell family (e.g. Ravensworth Ann colliery, later known as Team colliery, which does not feature rows of cottages nearby; OS First Edition 1857, see Plates 1 and 2) yet the example of Hetton serves to demonstrate the interspatial relationship between landholder (either planter or coal baron) and those working on such landscapes (either slaves or pitmen).

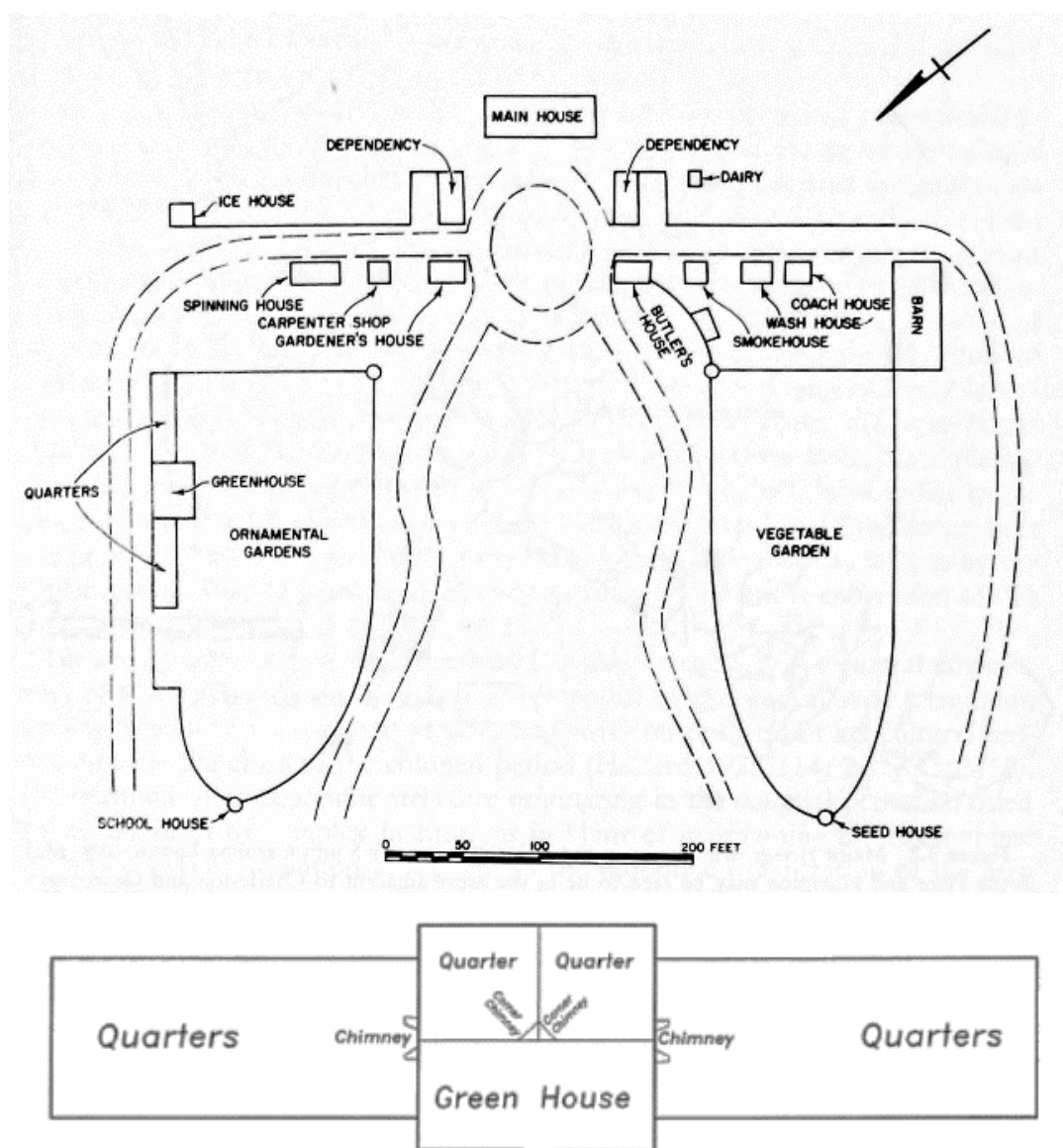


Figure 65: Plan and detail of Mount Vernon, VA
 Lewis 1985:39, Weber 1996:37, copyright permission pending

Beyond the visibility of the Great House as the centre of its landscape, the architecture of the house and estate in general was such that attention was focused on the exclusivity of a certain point or set of points. This point was only accessible via a series of obstacles which radiated outwards from the centre, creating what Upton calls a “processional landscape” (Upton 1984:66; here Upton uses the example of Mount Airy to illustrate this concept). This process of gaining access by navigating such obstacles might begin from the public road and move towards the estate boundary (which may or may not be defined in the landscape). Once on the estate, a well-articulated avenue or road would lead the visitor towards the main house, perhaps passing through working fields, past the accommodations of slaves, signifying the wealth of the planter based on the number of slave cabins along the approach (cf. Monticello; Kelso 1986 and 1997), and various other outbuildings, and terminating at the formal entrance to the house

(which may then be surrounded by formal gardens to mark a boundary). All of these levels of landscape must be negotiated and penetrated before entrance to the house is considered (or granted). Once inside the house proper, the arrangement of rooms flanking a central hall or passage meant further boundaries needed to be passed through before ultimately reaching the centre and pinnacle of activity and esteem. This space was more often than not the formal dining table of the master, a seat at which would have been the goal and envy of those who wished an association and/or audience with the person whose virtues made all former barriers necessary and possible (the importance of which is discussed further below; see also Upton 1982 and Isaac 2004).



Figure 66: Detail of First Edition Ordnance Survey Map, 1857, showing Hetton Hall
National Library of Scotland, available from <http://maps.nls.uk/view/102341473>

Such a progression is illustrated well in the example of Shirley Plantation, which sits on the north bank of the James River in Charles City County. The architectural and archaeological histories of this plantation have been the subject of much debate for most of the twentieth century (see Waterman 1945:346-59), particularly concerning the locations of various outbuildings no longer standing above ground (the most comprehensive study of which is Reinhart & Habicht 1984:42, where methodologies from both of these disciplines are employed). As can be seen in Figure 67, outbuildings were laid out in meticulously ordered and symmetrical fashion (cf. Governor's Palace, Williamsburg; arguably the archetype for Virginian estate architecture in the eighteenth century; Isaac 1999:36) in an arrangement based on multiples of twelve, symbolic of the rigid and rhythmic proportions underlying the plan (the

dimensions of the mansion are 48 x 48 feet, flanking dependent buildings are 60 x 24 feet, and the distance between these buildings is 36 feet to indicate an interspatiality ratio of 5:3:4:3:5, or A:B:C:B:A; Reinhart & Habicht 1984:42). Though the direction of approach may have more often than not been by water in the eighteenth century, making today's forecourt actually the backcourt, movement between these buildings was clearly based on rigidly designed patterns of access and hierarchy (see White 1999:119-20). Taken together, the buildings represent a unified architectural entity and combine to form an enclosed courtyard without the use of fencing or walls.

This arrangement has a clear parallel with structures in County Durham in the rigidity of interspatiality, seen especially in the Avenue at Gibside, and the roles and implications of an "enclosed" space, as at Ravensworth, though in this case the eighteenth century uses of the courtyard and its disparate structures were applied to an existing medieval arrangement, particularly following the Palladian refacing. The courtyard is exclusive and distinct within the wider estate landscape, and once within its implied barriers, the discrete functionality of each structure (or, in this case, pair of structures) is arranged in a tiered, sequential route of exclusivity based on the roles and utilities of the buildings (and people) who were assigned or afforded access to each place.

In Virginia, Hugh Jones commented in 1724 that "the whole country is a perfect forest, except where the woods are cleared for plantations" (Morton 1956:74). Gentry estates in this region and period were not necessarily created *ex nihilo*, being informed and influenced both by their wider indigenous landscapes (Williamson 2007:8) and architectural practices enduring from the earliest point of settlement. That said, the arrangement of such microcosmic landscapes and the language of building used in their design must be attributed to the intentions of a class of merchant industrialists with explicit political and social objectives (see Kornwolf 1993 for discussions of specific architectural adaptations in Maryland as well as South Carolina). Such objectives represent a regional ideal for an Anglo-Virginian "house" in the familial sense which was informed by a set of objectives distinct from a British model for colonial living.

As much as this distinction had everything to do with climate and geographical detachment, the formula for architectural design in the Chesapeake region developed in relation to the agrarian and industrial culture it was employed to service and showcase. This concept is furthered by the role of colonial towns, such as Williamsburg and Annapolis, as centres for sociability and politics which represented the objectives of their specific regions within the British Atlantic world. Added to this was a clear intention towards associationism both with elite society in London and as a mirror to classical associationist devices being used by similarly-positioned families in England (e.g. the Liddells of Ravensworth Castle), one example being Robert Beverley's 1705 interpretation of the Virginian landscape by analogy to Eden (Isaac 1999:14). This section has sought to explore the uses of designed landscapes for political, mercantile, and social purposes and the relationship between landowner and worker (either pitman,

slave, house slave, or house servant) and the experiences of each. The next section addresses the use of these spaces as they were experienced by various classes of participants in plantation society and as they relate to the construction and practice of societal roles. In the section to follow, these ideas, their genesis, and their realisation will be explored in greater detail as they relate to the role of craftsmen, collaborative design, and the formation of identity through architectural devices as created on the level of the individual.

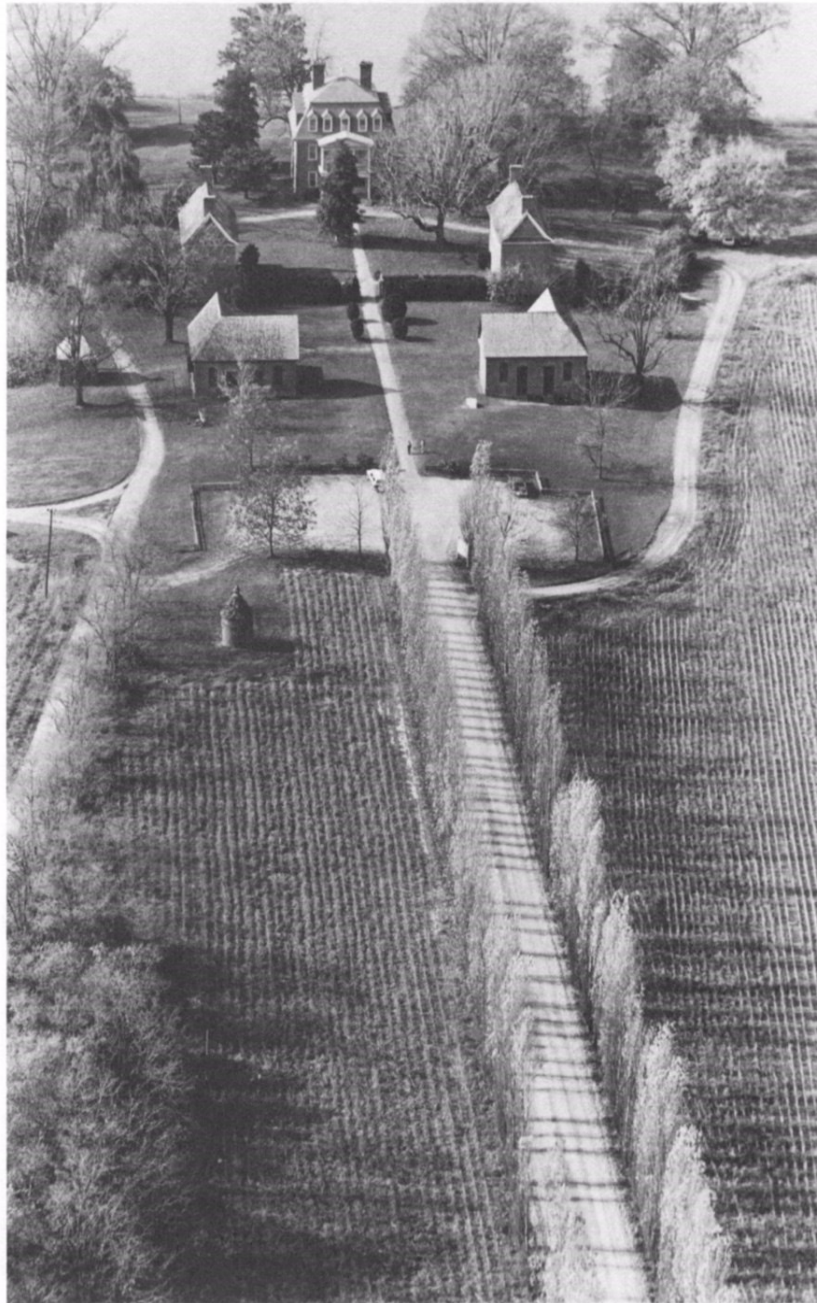


Figure 67: Aerial view of Shirley Plantation, 1984. Showing the mansion and forecourt buildings (facing west)
Reinhart & Habicht 1984:30, courtesy of the College of William and Mary

Patriarchy and Polite Society: Constructions of Role and Place

Discussion up until this point has focused primarily on creations and modifications of landscape and property, paying close attention to the means by which families (or “houses”) presented themselves within the context of wider landscapes both local and national, and to some degree global. In using a comparative model between American colonies and County Durham following on the model presented in Armitage & Braddick 2002, these themselves representing satellite industrial regions of the empire, it has been possible to apply an American method of inquiry to the primary focus region of this thesis. In this section the lens shall be drawn back to critically analyse the ways in which estate culture was used by new and existing gentry at the level of the family to evaluate the internal politics of dwelling as they relate to the creation and application of roles within distinct arenas (i.e. the roles of planter, visitor, and slave within the various landholdings of a family). Beyond providing a comparative examination of politeness and patriarchal approaches to housing culture, this section focuses as well on the role of diversified landholdings and the use of townhouses as subsidiary to the principal estate. In this manner, it may be possible to argue for a set of behavioural and organisational traits, the combination of which would elevate status, reputation, respect, and legacy, which was available for application.

Realising these aspirations was achievable by employing and promoting certain personal values and traits. Such a code made use of the fundamentals of politeness and patriarchy that materialised in the early modern period, both of which are worthy of discussing here. This coincided with the aforementioned rise and proliferation of estate culture as a reflection of changing conceptions of property, individuality, and liberty. Born out of an existing manorial system, these two principles (and their accompanying behavioural codes) saw widespread application by persons previously tied to guilds and other mercantile organisations. With movement out of the city centres onto personal and distinct parcels of land, as was the case in seventeenth century Newcastle upon Tyne, such individuals (and families) found the opportunity for social mobility within a system previously closed to newcomers. For the purposes of this thesis, an understanding of the means by which such mobility was possible is essential if any successful interpretation of “new gentry” architecture is to be offered, and examination of this phenomenon in the New World provides an interpretation which may be applied to discussions of wider application across the British Empire.

From the first point of settlement through to the second half of the eighteenth century, patriarchy and money were the two great principles which created and sustained a new Virginian society (Isaac 1999:135; see Greene 1976:23-33). Control over resources is what breeds power, and the fortune of having independence and, particularly, the “liberality” of pursuit in turn creates inferiority to surround the controller (see Isaac 1999:132). Such control was complemented and reinforced by Whiggism and genteel culture (Kierner 2000:187), or the system of behaviours necessary to practice and promote if distinction was desired. Where the security of noblemen may not have been as affected by changing markets (e.g. changing trade laws and fluctuating prices of coal and tobacco), their vulnerabilities being

primarily ideological in nature (e.g. English Civil War and Jacobite Rebellions), patriarchal devices (primarily a system of primogeniture) provided “the means by which the new aristocracy could maintain its firm hold on the country” (Jamoussi 1999:19; in reference to William the Conqueror yet quite applicable to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; see also Isaac 2004). With most historians tracing primogeniture in England to at least the Norman Conquest (see Paine 1791-2:104, Keen 1996:195, and particularly Coss 2005:35-7), this system of inheritance based upon an extensive tradition within English society provided and encouraged customs which became engrained as proper and historically-justified practices of noblemen. Engrained and appropriated principles of primogeniture and patriarchy in many ways assisted in creating early modern English estate culture and a system of entitlement based on worth, not necessarily birth, where the élite aristocracy was no longer the exclusive territory of noblemen. Traditions of patrilineal inheritance gleaned from the latter survived as munitions for the “newly-élite” merchant family in the Chesapeake, despite the decline of inherited status based on lineage in England during the middle and later part of the seventeenth century (see Heal & Holmes 1994:20-47, where it is argued that a new emphasis on taste is evident in architecture of the period). Following Cecil, “this plant of indigenous growth [...] found congenial soil in which to take root” (Cecil 1895:26-8).

In reading works such as Locke’s *Fundamental Constitutions of the Government of Carolina* of 1669 (Locke 1690:286, Haley 1968:242-8) and Sir Robert Filmer’s *Patriarcha*, written c.1642 and published in 1680 and 1685, corresponding with the war between royalists and parliamentarians and the Exclusion Crisis, respectively (see Laslett 1949), it becomes clear that the period saw not a rise in patriarchal thought but rather a decline in its acceptance as given (see Amussen 1988:38-9 and 57, and McKeon 1995:296). The basic tenets of this new dialogue were the separation of family and state and the separation of parties within the family itself. This has much to do with the capitalist transformation of England’s countryside (McKeon 1995:298) where the labour force moved from one of male and female roles to one where these roles were paved in favour of a more efficient system of work (namely the growth of larger estates and the division of these in the seventeenth century; see Frazer 1999). Such a reorganisation of the landscape meant a breakdown of the agrarian economy and thus a reduction in the importance of farm work done by women where both women and men began to work outside the home. This also corresponded with a rise in fertility in the eighteenth century due to earlier and more frequent marriages (Snell 1985; Macfarlane 1987, particularly chapter II; Abelove 1992; McKeon 1995:319; see also Barker-Benfield 1992), itself a reaction to the lessening employability of women (Wrigley 1987).

A society already familiar with a capitalist mindset (e.g. growth of the wool industry from the fourteenth century onwards) was reacted to in property ownership, primarily the result of Whiggism, as discussed previously, religious organization, and the breakdown of the manorial system (see Macfarlane 1987:172, Weber 1961:85-6, 129, and Weber 1970:91, 174). Such a capitalist system emboldens and serves the individual’s pursuit of identity, or “conscious identification” (Namier 1930:22), though in the context of

this thesis individuality should be applied to the family unit rather than the person (Jamoussi 1999:31). The interests of the individual planter, coal owner, baronet, etc. were not the priority; rather, it was the duty of this person to serve the interests of the family and to perpetuate its authoritative and distinguished position within local and wider society: pursuits which were reflected in contemporary social and legal systems (even despite the common law's dealing only with individual property rights; Simpson 1996:209).

Where power was intimately connected to land, defining one's self within a wider landscape (both physical and social) was a function of forging a family identity to ally with and distinguish among those for whom gentry status was a given. This is particularly evident in the education of children of the planter class, a most important investment for new gentry seeking to create enduring "houses" (see O'Day 1982:52 and especially Pollock 1989), and the distinction of roles according to gender which governed these practices (see Clark 1919, Mingay 1976:89-90, Prior 1985, Kierner 2000:188) where a specialised education was based more on an understanding of one's place within the framework of the family and providing the skill set necessary for one to contribute meaningfully to the success and sustainment of the house (familial sense) and estate (see Pollock 1989:248-9, where it is suggested that "life-role, of which gender played a part, rather than sex-role socialization is a more accurate description of the process"). For planters of the Chesapeake region during the eighteenth century and likewise for coal-owning families on Tyneside, such identity was crucial for progress (social, political, and fiscal) and dictated the style and arrangement of the estate. According to one visitor, courtship (and its observation) was "the principal business in Virginia" (Wright & Tinling 1943:231) and was a (if not the) principal means towards advancement in Virginian gentry society. Desirable traits of dignity and courtesy as well as courage, bravery, and fortitude (Morton 1946:358) were reflected and presented in the ability of the Great House and its associated grounds and satellite landholdings to facilitate their practice.

Estates were constructed to be visited and to be used as settings for developing and nurturing interpersonal relationships using a set of formal activities and practices (see especially Morgan 1952). Following Isaac's analysis of Fithian's *Journal* (c1773-4), it is clear the heavy importance placed not just on entertaining but on the consistency of the practice and the act of dining, for example, as an exchange of currency (Isaac 1999:76; see also Blau 1964): seen as a transaction between merchants, a reward for services, and/or a device for fostering better or continued relations between neighbours sharing the same wider landscape. This practice of exchange has a direct correlation with the practices of the coal owners of Tyneside. Citing the example of visitors' experiences at Gibside (see accounts of Edward Montagu at Gibside, 29 July 1753; Climenson 2011:36-7), the idea of entertaining contemporaries and using such entertainment as currency was perhaps one of the major factors in decisions to create grand estates. Besides the obvious opportunity to impress and conform at a dinner table, which may be seen as a microcosm for social relations between merchant gentry families of these types (Upton 1984), the

invitation itself would have held enormous value, especially for those of lower classes. Such practices are illustrated well in Fithian's accounts following visitation of such an estate:

"I was introduced into a small Room where a number of Gentlemen were playing Cards [...] to lay off my Boots[,] Riding-Coat &c – Next I was directed to the Dining-Room. [...] The Ladies dined first, when some Good order was preserved; when they rose, each nimblest Fellow dined first – The Dinner was as elegant as could be well expected when so great an Assembly was to be kept for so long a time" (Farish 1943:56-7).

The estate of Thomas Mann Randolph, Sr. (1741-93) at Tuckahoe was described as having been built "solely to answer the purposes of hospitality" (cited in Waterman 1946:423). With balls that could last several days (e.g. Great Ball at Sabine Hall, near Warsaw, VA (see PreFigure 2), held for three days each January; Carter 1904:46, cited in Morton 1946:354) with attendance sometimes nearing seventy (Rasmussen 1980:291) and everywhere the "polite diversion" of gambling (Morton 1946:356), indeed "a way of life at court" (Grundy 1999:85, in reference to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of Sir Edward Wortley Montagu of Wortley Hall, Yorkshire, and daughter-in-law of Sidney Wortley Montagu, signer of the Grand Alliance of Tyneside coal owners c.1726), this was a society in which a seemingly "open-handed" hospitality reigned chief, where entertainment of others and proper etiquette dictated much about daily life. The estate was by no means isolated in microcosm but was constantly being visited by other planters. These visits usually lasted several days; in fact, Robert Wormeley Carter's diary would seem to suggest that he was not at home for more than a few days at a time (Morton 1946:354). According to Hugh Jones, visiting Sabine Hall in 1727: "No people [could] entertain their friends with better cheer and welcome; and strangers and travellers are treated in the most free, plentiful, and hospitable manner" (Jones 1956:84). In a capitalist society centred on family and patriarchy, entertaining represented the opening of one's house not only to be enjoyed but to be evaluated (e.g. William Paca's formal garden in Annapolis, discussed above).

Alongside the planter family's impetus towards political involvement was an impetus towards visibility in town centres. Though "the size and splendor of an Englishman's country estate – not his town house – and its productivity were the visible markers of gentlemanly rank," the townhouse acted both as a reminder of the country estate which would be visible from the sea (Yentsch 1994:41, 109) and provide the landowner with a base from which to conduct business in the regional centre(s) of political, commercial, and social life. In much the same manner as was the case in London (and in Durham City and Newcastle), the first half of the eighteenth century saw a period of the increased building in civic centres of the Chesapeake region as compared to a relative lack of towns in the later part of the seventeenth century (Wright 1939:96). According to the 3rd Lord Baltimore in 1678, "wee have none That are called or cann be called Townes [...]" [I]n most places There are not ffifty houses in the space of Thirty Myles" (quoted in Russo & Russo 2012:104). This situation appears not to have changed much in the twenty-five years which followed as Beverley noted in 1704 that "to this Day, [Virginians] have not

any one Place of Cohabitation among them, that may reasonably bear the Name of a Town” (quoted in Machor 1987:76).

The development of early town architecture of the eighteenth century may thus be associated with increases in the practice of representation on the part the planter class as well as in international commerce (see especially Sydnor 1952 and Moser et al 2003). Following on political precedents addressed earlier in this chapter, the political and civic culture of Virginia and Maryland shared more with Old World Britain than their contemporary colonies in the north (i.e. New England, though the original charter for Maine set up by Sir Fernando Gorges was also based on a Palatine model, hence Gorges being referred to as “Lord Palatine” after the Palatine of Durham; Goodrich 1857:1106), where by the middle of the seventeenth century each had an assembly (a variant of the English Parliament) of representatives elected by male property owners and a council (Russo & Russo 2012:6-7). These were county-based entities in contrast to the town-based government of New England settlements, meaning that town centres in the southern colonies were representative of a far more varied set of persons, being laid out for the purposes of both tradesmen’s and planters’ interests (Conforti 2001:95). This situation was echoed in mainland Britain where London townhouses are not to be thought of as a homogenous set of residences, despite their many similarities in design, but rather that many classes of people were living side-by-side to one another and that the nobility itself was composed of élite with diverse sources of wealth and genealogies and with differing levels of and reasons for attachment to city residences (Stewart 2009:27).

The laying out of such civic centres for the purposes addressed above is exemplified well in the history of Annapolis where town planning revolved around the political epicenter with the townhouses of planters and other prominent figures positioned nearby. In this colonial system, newly wealthy and independent gentlemen were able to purchase land in the centres of political and social activity with relatively greater ease (see Chalklin 1974 for discussions of provincial town planning in early modern Britain; cited in Hart 2009:204). With town centres being built up from so-called “virgin land” gentlemen of the élite planter class were presented with an opportunity to “write [their] values into the built environment” (Kamoie 2009:329). From the town architecture of Annapolis, it is evident that the focal point was a large circle where the State House (c.1772-1784) stands at the centre (this structure was commissioned by the Maryland Assembly and featured fine interior woodwork by the joiner William Buckland, discussed further below). On streets radiating outwards from this circle and Church circle which lies to the immediate northwest, the eighteenth century landowner could commission the construction of a townhouse which would serve to cement connections with the political and social spheres of élite mercantile society in the colony (see particularly Yentsch 1994:109). Some of the best examples of such houses are highlighted here to further the comparative association between the early modern housing culture of the colonial Chesapeake and that of County Durham, particularly as this comparison relates to visibility within regional centres of political and commercial activity (e.g. the

Blackett's house in Newcastle, the Bowes in Durham, and the Liddell's at Newton Hall, addressed in Chapter VI; see also Stewart 2009:28-31, where the idea of "presence" in London is discussed).

Townhouses such as the John Brice II House (mid-eighteenth century, Prince George Street, built for the politician and noted Maryland landowner and planter; Owings 1953:148), the Donald-Steuartson House (c.1708-1715, Francis Street, built for the merchant Henry Donaldson; Williams & Trieschmann 1995), and Charles Carroll House (Figure 68, shown on the banks of Spa Creek; from c.1720 with later additions, built for the planter and lawyer Charles Carroll II of Doughoregan Manor near Ellicott City, MD; Logan et al 1991) demonstrate this impetus towards townhouse construction in the early to middle part of the eighteenth century, particularly the latter where a two-and-a-half-storey brick home was constructed in the town centre amidst an urban architectural landscape of mostly wooden homes, highlighting the importance of its occupant (Russo & Russo 2012:161). This occupant, Charles Carroll II, was the chief landholder of Doughoregan Manor, near Ellicott City, Maryland (Figure 69) which provides a point of comparison to the landholding functionality of the Liddells and Bowes addressed in Chapter VI. Built on the original 10,000-acre manor acquired by Charles Carroll I ("the Settler") in 1717, the main section of this mansion house was constructed about 1727 by Carroll II, father of Charles Carroll III ("of Carrollton," 1737-1832: signer of the Declaration of Independence, planter, landowner, politician, and US Senator). After emigrating from Ireland in around 1659 to St. Mary's City, Maryland, the Irish-Catholic Carroll family (originally of King's County, named for King Philip c.1556, now County Offaly; Sergeant & Lowber 1872:22) made continued efforts to hold public office (arguably resulting in the disfranchisement of Catholics in Maryland; see Steiner 1962) despite their being established landholders and planters in the colony.

For the Carroll family, establishing a presence in the political and mercantile centre at Annapolis was a statement of participation and entitlement within Maryland society which would simultaneously serve as a reference to the larger plantation estate landholding of the family (Yentsch 1994:47). This practice has a direct correlation with the diversification of landholdings employed by the Liddell family (as addressed in the previous chapter) where the family's estates at Newton Hall and No.13 St. James's Square functioned as visible links to the principal family seat at Ravensworth while also providing the family with a base from which to exploit the specific resources of Durham City and London. Within the regional centres of mercantile commerce, the townhouse provided this essential link to local and wider political activity (cf. Leech 2014, where similar practices are discussed in relation to Bristol, another regional centre of activity). Houses in London allowed the landowner to draw on the best services available within the various professional sects necessary for maintaining their estates and, as was the case for the Liddells, their industrial and political interests (Stewart 2009:28).



Figure 68: Charles Carroll House, Annapolis, MD, from the southeast
Permissions obtained from webmaster, charlescarrollhouse.org



Figure 69: Southeast front of Doughoregan Manor, near Ellicott City, MD
Snell 1971, copyright permission pending

Beyond the arrangement and character of the Big House landscape as a microcosm for mercantile success and social relations, the establishment of mercantile marketplaces upon existing medieval or indigenous landscapes (with regards to the Tyne Valley and Chesapeake regions, respectively) meant creating a hierarchy and functionality for public and private spaces within these landscapes (archaeological investigations of indigenous landscapes and their effects on seventeenth and eighteenth century Chesapeake society are discussed in Dent 1995 and Gallivan 2016). For a region where the physical arenas for these societal functions were constructed upon an “untouched” landscape to address the needs of a novel class of mercantile gentry, historical archaeologies of such rural and urban sites as are presented in this chapter reveal a rubric for participation within polite and political life and for the ascension of a family into the élite rungs of British aristocracy. Such a rubric informs interpretations of similar mobility in contemporary satellite centres of mercantile commerce (i.e. County Durham) and as such serves to enrich discussions of the openness of élite society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the section to follow, these principles are examined as they were applied for individual objectives as seen through the processes of architectural design employed the planters themselves.

Individualism through Cooperative Design: The Patronage of Architectural Legacy

Discussion up until this point has addressed the mercantile context of housing culture and the politics of dwelling itself. This section now turns to the role of the individual landholder in defining the character of a family through architectural patronage. As has been established in Chapter V using the combined archaeological and historical methodology of this thesis (as outlined in Chapter II), the estates of the Liddell family at Ravensworth, Newton Hall, and Eslington Park as well as that of the Bowes family at Streatham Castle were realised architecturally through the collaboration of the coal owner patron and the joiner Thomas Shirley. This relationship and its implications are crucial elements of the thesis, highlighting the process of design and execution of grand architecture during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Perhaps more importantly is the process of interpretation and application of classical forms as practiced on the regional level, where the underlying character of the estate, the promotion of the “house” through associative architectural themes, is fundamentally a reflection of its particular place within the disparate architectural histories of the wider British world. As such, examples of this relationship in the Chesapeake where the regional historical archaeology is better accounted for in the literature provide a necessary model from which to ultimately draw conclusions for early modern County Durham and Northumberland.

The so-called “Virginia Style” of estate building represents the ultimate result of an evolution in priorities and influences ranging over one hundred years of English and then British occupation of the Chesapeake region (see particularly Rasmussen 1982 and Lounsbury 1977, the latter of which provides a comparative look at domestic architecture in North Carolina). Though its roots can be traced to the earliest of settlements and features characteristics which carry through this entire period, changes in the

form and function of houses and their accompanying landscapes (and the placement of the former within the wider latter) can be explained by a set of circumstances both unique to the region and comparable to those of other areas removed from the centres of British architectural innovation (see Glassie 1975:120-1, Deetz 1977:115-7). In reviewing these circumstances on the level of the individual builder, it is possible to analyse the importance placed on associationism, hierarchy, and creation of identity present in estate-building culture of the Chesapeake region and, in so doing, to highlight certain key themes which may aid in understanding elite mercantile housing culture in general across the British world.

The eighteenth century saw three distinct types of designers of buildings, namely the trained professional “architect” (usually called a “surveyor”; Salmon 1734:3d), the gentleman-amateur, and the talented master craftsman (Rasmussen 1982:198). With regards to colonial Virginia, the former was definitely a rarity with Thomas Hadley (designer of the so-called Wren Building at the College of William and Mary c.1695-1700) being perhaps the most notable exception (see Swem 1928). The majority of work was designed by either or both of the latter types. As many sons of wealthy planters in the colony were sent to England for formal education to supplement tutoring at home (e.g. sons of the Draytons, discussed above, Lewis 1985:123-4; the Carters, the Byrds of Westover, and the Corbins of Lanesville; Hardy 2007:118-9, 104, 175-80), to build on discussions of roles laid out in the previous section, a classical English education would have included a rich curriculum of the arts with at least an amateur education in architectural studies (see particularly Chapter IV in O’Day 1982). For Robert Wormeley Carter this trajectory meant being tutored at Sabine Hall in his early years (or potentially at Cleve, King George County, VA, as his uncle maintained a school there; Morton 1946:348-9), though it is not known whether (or where) he studied abroad and/or at William and Mary (Morton 1946:349). Following exposure to the most advanced architecture in the English-speaking world that London had to offer young pupils, the gentleman would have brought this knowledge and inspiration back to the colonies. To add, the library of such a gentleman would have included much in the way of literature relating to the arts (the extensive library collection of the Carters of Nomini Hall is a good example of this practice, though it is arguably one of the more eccentric; Smart 1938).

In this manner, the “complete gentleman” would have been encouraged by his upbringing and/or contemporaries to practise the amateur design of buildings (primarily his own buildings) with the scholarly assistance of architectural handbooks (e.g. Salmon’s *Palladio Londinesis*, 1734, translation of Palladio’s *Four Books of Architecture*, published in London 1716-20 by Giacomo Leoni, and Langley’s *Sure Guide to Builders* of 1729 and *Treasury of Designs* of 1745, perhaps the most widely distributed examples) and the practical assistance of master craftsmen. Though this would have been an ideal which not all mercantile landowners had the opportunity or inclination to pursue, examples of gentlemen amateurs are many, with those prominent ones being Jefferson (Monticello), Washington (Mount Vernon), Governor Spotswood (Governor’s Palace, Williamsburg), and George Mason (Gunston Hall). The

master craftsman was not at all unique to the colonies as has been explained with regards to the buildings of the Liddell and Bowes families on Tyneside, likely hired “by the Day, by Measure, [or] by Great” (letter of 1681 by Christopher Wren indicating that the employee would be paid either by the day, for a single task, or for completion of an entire project; Whiffen 1958:15), and as such, the practice of highly skilled craftsmanship and occasional design work presents an excellent point of transatlantic comparison. While the population of such craftsmen was not as high in Virginia as in the northern colonies and thus did not necessitate the formation of guilds (e.g. Carpenters’ Company of Philadelphia), craftsmen were regularly hired and imported from Britain to carry out work in the American South, usually under some form of indentured servitude with a term lasting from four to seven years (Beirne & Scharf 1958:11). This relationship and the need for such is demonstrated well in the following letter from the planter William Fitzhugh to a London merchant:

The best methods to be pursued therein is, to get a Carpenter & Bricklayer Servants, & send them in here to serve 4 or five years, in which time of their Service, they might reasonably build a substantial good house, [...] & earn money enough besides, [...] at spare times from your work, [...] as will purchase plank, nails & other materials, & supply them with neccesarys during their servitude. [...] But should not advise to build either a great, or English framed house, for labour is so intolerably dear, & workmen so idle & negligent that the building of a good house, to you there will seem insupportable, for this I can assure you when I built my own house [...] the frame of my house stood me in more money [...] than the frame of the same Dimensions would cost in London, by a third at least [...] & near three times as long preparing. [...] Workmen of your own, as I at first proposed to you, will take off much of those objections. (Fitzhugh to Nicholas Haywood, 30 January 1686/7; quoted in Davis 1963:202-3).

This closeness of relations between the craftsman and patron serves to illuminate much about the nature of design and planning and is best exemplified and applied to the wider argument of this discussion in looking at the career and architectural works of the craftsman William Buckland (1734-1774). As such, it is important to outline Buckland’s career here so as to provide context for comparison with craftsman-architects in England, namely the joiner Thomas Shirley (suggested in Chapters V and VI as being the principal craftsman for rebuilding campaigns at Ravensworth Castle, Newton Hall, and Eslington Park in the early eighteenth century). Perhaps the most well-known and indeed the most studied craftsman of the early eighteenth century Chesapeake region, the “Citizen and Joiner” was born in Oxford and moved to London at the age of thirteen (15 April 1748) to serve as apprentice to his uncle James (also “Citizen and Joiner”), a bookseller of architectural publications in Paternoster Row (described in 1819 as being “nearly synonymous” with the British book trade; Ward, Lock & Co. 1819, reprinted 1924:xi). At the age of twenty, the young joiner was engaged by Thomas Mason, brother of the Virginia planter George Mason, while Thomas was in London studying law (Davis 1947:24) and brought to the colony under an indenture (dated 3 August 1755) of four years (£20 per year with “meat, drink, washing, lodging”; Kimball 1954:3) to assist in the redesign of interiors at Gunston Hall on the Northern Neck of the Chesapeake Bay. From this point onwards until his death at the age of forty, Buckland would go on to establish one of the premier craftsman practices in the region, taking commissions for such buildings as Glebe House in Fairfax County and Hammond Harwood in

Annapolis (Kimball 1954:3; Rockledge is also likely attributable to Buckland) and providing interior craftsmanship for Mount Airy, Blandfield, Menokin, Sabine, and Nomini (Kimball 1954:4). Much of the work done at these locations has been traced directly to forms published in architectural volumes of the period (Davis 1947:30, citing Halsey 1933 who drew these parallels) which Buckland received from London up until his death in 1774 (Davis 1947:20, citing court records of Buckland's possessions).

Besides using the joiner as a point of comparison to the joiner Thomas Shirley's involvement at the estates of the Liddell and Bowes families, Buckland's career and style have been researched extensively and thus leave much to be discerned about eighteenth century practices of design and craftsmanship and the relationships between craftsman and patron. In an astonishing discovery made during the archaeological investigation and restoration of Gunston's "Palladian Room" (designed by Buckland), a series of rough architectural pencil sketches were uncovered on the back of an interior window frieze. These drawings show an animated exchange between two people which clearly took place during construction of the room and were recorded on the nearest available writing surface. The sketches were used by Lounsbury (1987) to put Buckland forward as a possible designer for the then yet to exist Prince William County courthouse. Beyond this point, however, the discovery of the drawings raises several considerations relating to the patron-to-craftsman relationship during this period. At this early stage in his American career, Buckland was still indentured to Mason for the redesign of interiors at Gunston and had not yet begun to practice as an independent master craftsman (at least in the sense of his later work). In 1759, Buckland was a twenty-five-year-old craftsman only four years removed from his arrival in the colony. These four years had no doubt involved close collaboration with Mason as he and the young craftsman realised a vision for the interiors. The final design of these forms suggests that such a vision was just as much that of the craftsman as of the patron, with the majority of forms and styles originating in the academic texts Buckland was so familiar with.

Given this relationship, it is not surprising to find such an exchange recorded on the reverse of a piece of building material at Gunston (albeit the miraculous fortune of finding the series of drawings in the first place). The drawings' resemblance to other local courthouses suggests Mason's input as he would have travelled to and been familiar with the major public buildings in the region, while Buckland's influence is clear in the range of architectural forms present in the designs (Lounsbury 1987:231-2; George Mason's diary and writings do not appear to show any real propensity for architectural design; Rutland 1970:45-6, 56-7). Such a relationship also reveals the degree of confidence Mason placed in his employee: confidence which is made clear in Mason's awarding Buckland "the entire Direction of the Carpenters and Joiners work of a Large House" and recommending him "to any gentleman that may have occasion to employ him, as an honest sober diligent man and I think a complete Master of the Carpenter's and Joiner's Business both in theory and practice" (reverse of the indenture dated 8 November 1759; quoted in Kimball 1954:3).

Aside from highlighting Buckland's personal accomplishments, the details of the joiner's career in America serve as an excellent point of context for discussions of the regional style of architecture as it relates to the "Georgian Order" thesis (discussed at the onset of this chapter) and the stimuli influencing its development. Where English academic sources were disseminated into the designs of buildings in colonial Virginia and Maryland "through the medium of a talented and trained builder" (Lounsbury 1987:237), it is clear that Virginian architecture celebrated and welcomed both traditional and novel English forms in design, yet these were balanced with an approach to use of space unique to the region (to cite one important example, Buckland drew on Batty Langley's *Gothic Architecture, Improved by Rules and Proportions* (1747) for his rear porch at Gunston Hall; Reiff 2000:28). A distinct Virginian style was well established by the time Buckland was designing in the area yet the apparent weaving of numerous disparate motifs into single pieces in a manner that is neither distracting nor imitative (e.g. Greek, Roman, Louis XI, and Chinese motifs all represented in the trim at Gunston Hall; Davis 1947:22; also incidentally showing the patron's desire to appear worldly) and the variation in styles among buildings he designed would suggest an air of bold experimentation even amidst a mostly conservative architectural climate (see variation among Gunston, the Chase-Lloyd House in Annapolis, MD, Hammond-Harwood, also in Annapolis, and Whitehall, near Annapolis, the latter of which was the first temple-form dwelling constructed in America).

In this manner, guided amateurism on the part of the planters themselves was a reflection of desire for individuality. Planters such as Robert "King" Carter of Corotoman (Lancaster County, VA), Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley (Charles City County, VA), John Carter of Shirley (also Charles City County, VA), Carter Burwell of Carter's Grove (near Williamsburg, James City County, VA), and Robert Beverley of Blandfield (Essex County, VA) were all known to have hired indentured workmen during the building of their estates (Rasmussen 1982:204; compare Liddells of Ravensworth and Newton and Bowes of Gibside and Streatlam) and by the middle part of the eighteenth century a steady stream of craftsmen was being imported into the colonies at such a rate that hiring directly from Britain would no longer have been necessary (see *Virginia Gazette*, 6 June 1751 and 10 November 1752, recording the arrival of two ships of tradesmen into the York River; after Rasmussen 1982:204). With the number of élite planters practising as amateur designers and overseers (Whiffen 1958:46), most hiring skilled labourers to guide the decision making process and translate these ideas into brick and mortar, it may be suggested that the patron and craftsman combined to produce what could be called an architect of the Virginia Style with the newest architectural forms entering into the lexicon of New World Georgian housing culture through the medium of publications. Many of these forms may well have been realised in America before even being seen in London given the seemingly direct pipeline of new ideas from Paternoster Row to the joiner in the Chesapeake. The most innovative and stylistically advanced decorative forms may have been available to Virginia and Maryland planters first, and their acceptance of these forms serves to highlight what may be a fundamental character trait of élite colonial architecture: a penchant for individuality.

The process of architectural design and its inherent individualism within the political framework of seventeenth and eighteenth century Chesapeake society illustrates the function of the house as reflective of the patron's personal agenda. Under this system, the idea of distinction among neighbouring and parallel élite and as well as between classes of the people (as outlined in the previous sections) was the primary force influencing the creation and use of grand architecture, particularly so in areas of the British Empire where efforts towards association with and distinction from London operated concurrently. Colonists "saw themselves as part of an expanding British nation and empire [...] Loyalty to colony meant loyalty to Britain [and] the two were expected to reinforce one another" (Murrin 1987:338). As expressed in the archaeology of such structures, the regional élite landholder sought to define himself as separate from centralised control of resources and agendas in the sense of personal property (a primarily Whig idea) while at the same time remaining conscious of the role of architectural associationism (see Upton 1980:96, Wenger 1986:144). Taken together with the archaeological examples and discussions of property and lineage addressed in the previous sections of this chapter, where the political culture of individual authority as influential upon the microcosmic nature of plantation culture may be understood as instrumental in the formation of a regional character in the design and use of space in the Chesapeake colonies, these practices may be applied to the principal area of inquiry for this thesis as reflective of satellite centres of mercantile society in general, distinct and self-serving yet confederated in the pursuit of such.

Conclusions

Following on the heels of Martin Hall's seminal comparative study of colonial architecture in South Africa with that of the Chesapeake (Hall 2000), this chapter may be understood as an extension of Hall's argument for a transcontinental experience of élite housing culture to include the estates of the coal barons of Tyneside in this wider conversation of shared architectural vocabulary employed to address regional objectives. Following on discussions of the "Georgian Order" thesis presented in Chapter II, the material cultures of these geographically and commercially separate regions of the greater British world may be understood as united in observance and appropriation of classical forms, each offering interpretations of a common theme to correspond with and reshape the character of unique natural and industrial landscapes. "Landscape architecture and architecture itself were used to create the dual illusion that their builders or owners could reproduce the laws of nature and, in doing so, could convince others that the owners had or deserved power" (Leone 1988a:240-1; quoted in Hall 2000:77).

In discussing Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*, Peter Laslett concluded that "to patriarchalism is due the very possibility of a man's identifying himself with his posterity and so striving to build up his wealth for the benefit of his son and his son's son" (Laslett 1949:22-3). For the 3rd Baronet Ravensworth as well as his contemporary Robert "King" Carter in Virginia (1644-1723 and 1662/3-1732, respectively), creating a lineage through architectural definition was congruent with a will and duty to provide for his heirs and successors and encourage the perpetuation of a legacy. Such estates, the physical representations of the

power and influence of the house, would provide a comfort in perceived preeminence and security for generations to follow and so perpetuate the family's fame in the eyes of the onlooker. Within the estate itself, the arrangement of the landscape and the buildings which served its purposes dictated a hierarchy of privilege and access which furthered the systems of omniscience, oversight, and centralisation necessary for maintaining and employing dominium. The view from the front door of the Great House was one which evoked each of these systems and allowed the landowner to stand both above and within the industry which served this legacy.

With the opening of the gentry in the late seventeenth century came a culture in which the rights and privileges of the élite classes of British political and social society were made available to those who would contribute in a meaningful way to the perpetuation of a standard. This was a learnable politeness in behaviour and architecture available to those wishing to define and promote themselves: a code at once observable and modifiable (see Klein 1989, 1994, and 2002). Through a rubric of education, importation, and acculturation, members of élite mercantile families could acquire a set of behaviours to employ in efforts to distinguish themselves from other classes, from competing families, and within the family dynamic itself: each of these objectives requiring the traits of specific roles of politeness. These "life-roles" (Pollock 1989:248) helped to shape the climates of family, politics, ownership, and service of the gentry class.

The estate (and the ownership of property) was itself a form of politeness (see Brewer & Staves 1995), its architecture dictating the impressions as well as the behaviours of those within and on the fringes of the élite. Besides the aforementioned emphasis on interspatiality and place within the microcosm of the industrial landscape, this chapter has demonstrated the importance of regionalism among British practises of building, though in examining these buildings it becomes clear that no two Georgian buildings were alike (Upton 1979:188-9). In reality, the language for classical revivalist architecture as it was understood and employed during the long eighteenth century may be characterised by its dynamicity and openness to reinterpretation as a rubric for further creativity, able to be applied and modified to suit the objectives of a specific site yet visibly connecting all other structures of similar motivation: a commonality in observance of a standard for polite architectural design and presentation.

Conceptions of property and individualism and their developments seen through architectural expression played a crucial role in determining the character and eventual tradition of élite housing culture in Britain's peripheral landscapes. This is a crucial point of comparison as property was fundamentally a Whig idea, where Tory conceptions focused on land and a more paternalist vision of such and Whiggism on individualistic ideas of ownership (see Disraeli 1904, Underkuffler 1990, and especially Pincus 2005, 2006, and 2012). Such individualism was reflected in architecture, realised with the assistance and collaboration of talented craftsmen. This collaborative relationship was typified in those of Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Baronet (with the joiner Thomas Shirley) and George Mason (with the

joiner William Buckland). These relationships emboldened the individuality of the planter or coal owner while at the same time ensuring his participation in a wider community of architectural patrons and enthusiasts, and through these craftsmen the patron was able to exploit and engage with architectural developments. Such individuality expressed through the united efforts of patron and craftsman amplified the presence of a family among, within, and also distinct from other élite families (whether of the preexisting or new mercantile gentry). To understand these pathways towards success and the promotion of such is to better appreciate the condition of new gentry in general, lifting the principal family of this thesis, the Liddells of Ravensworth Castle, out of local history and into a wider narrative of early modern élite and polite culture across the regional borders of the British Empire.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions

*"It is impossible that mankind should be governed
without these differences of persons, states, and degrees of men."*
Gaskin 1660, quoted in Reay 1980:389

This project began with a building not just in danger of collapse but of fading into historical obscurity. From the onset, the historical and archaeological investigation of Ravensworth Castle was aimed towards providing a comprehensive understanding of the estate's rich architectural history which would be presented in an accessible manner and archived to be referenced during any conservation or restoration efforts which may occur. These objectives have been met, and it is hoped that the evidence gathered and interpretations offered here will serve as a piece of the public history of a region whose character has been shaped and defined by the industry which was brought about by the actions of those persons and places examined in this thesis.

That said, writing the architectural history of an estate such as Ravensworth Castle is as much the end goal as are the implications which have arisen in the process. From a methodological standpoint, the researching of this thesis according to the procedures outlined in Chapter II has raised certain questions as to how historical archaeology may read buildings which have been "lost." This thesis has to a certain degree presented a novel methodological approach for the critical investigation of lost structures in that typically employed methods, such as geophysics, were not an option. In this case, geophysics has the potential to enrich interpretations rather than serve as a baseline for inquiry. Where other studies may read data collected from geophysical survey at the onset and attempt to contextualise these results within the wider architectural landscape, the present thesis has taken the approach of building a context

around the idea of an early modern Ravensworth Castle as it would have affected and been affected by the surrounding landscapes of industry, politics, politeness, and history.

This is not to say that the approach is comprehensive barring excavation of the principal site but rather that by adapting the methodology in reaction to issues of access, the focus of inquiry shifted away from an exploration of one estate's place within its regional context of élite housing culture and towards one where the context comes to shape the interpretation and, in some cases, actually reveals the physical character at distinct moments in its development. The analysis of the building changes when the context and motivations behind each campaign for building, rebuilding, or refacing becomes the primary set of data. A building which survives in the present day, especially one which belongs to the élite classes of gentry, will bear marks of alteration which must be removed by the eye during the analytical process, whereas one which does not survive may be interpreted as wholly a product of the period when modifications were made. This is especially important for Ravensworth given the nature of architectural patronage of the site as shifting towards a culture of redefinition during the tenure of the 3rd Baronet (c.1697-1723). Moreover, it may be said that the Ravensworth Castle of the eighteenth century was just as much a reflection of the medieval and industrial histories present within the estate parkland as it was a personification and record of the social and political climates encircling these histories. In other words, the precise widths of its wall foundations pale in importance to what may be garnered from appreciating its evolving and holistic peripheral circumstances.

Issues of fragmentation between the historical and archaeological creations of narrative (laid out in Johnson 1999) cannot strictly speaking exist for a historical archaeology of the Liddell family's tenure at Ravensworth. As this study has shown, any attempt to stratify the roles of these "detached" disciplines, where either of the two would be nominated as a baseline for the other, cannot be put forth within the confines of the available source material, whether documentary or material. The physical Ravensworth Castle of the present day exists as a mere suggestion of its former character from which historical archaeology may "create" a pre-settlement, medieval, or early modern conception of the Ravensworth experience. Owing to the lack of documentary evidence as well as of a building itself, neither history nor archaeology may claim supremacy within the analytical process nor may either demand validation from the other.

As has been outlined in previous scholarship on this issue, it may be necessary to move beyond the dualism of historical and archaeological investigation (Johnson 1999:23) in the effort to find meaning and narrative. This thesis has shown in its methodology and particularly applied in Chapters IV, VI, and VII that the application of narrative and meaning onto particular periods in history is most successful when the surrounding context of such a period is treated as the superlative baseline from which to draw conclusions about a particular site, people, or period. The approach ignores the restrictive nature of purely archaeological or historical investigation which, in either case, would serve to ordinarily limit

conclusions to what can be garnered from material associated explicitly with the principal site. By disassociating from limitations, a more holistic interpretation may be offered.

That said, building not specific but wider narratives may be the key to understanding the process of entering and sustaining membership among the early modern élite, which is the central inquiry of this thesis. In researching and analysing the various data available and presented, it becomes clear that ultimate interpretation may be synthesised into three central processes, being the processes of defining legacy, creating narrative, and retaining character. It was these which allowed an early modern mercantile family to achieve perceptions of power and recognitions of status within regional and wider contexts and governed the ways in which such aspirations were expressed in material culture.

Defining legacy

In reading the architectural histories of élite mercantile gentry families, as they have been defined at the onset of the thesis, achieving merchant élitism was not simply the attaining of great wealth by mercantile means; rather, becoming “élite” meant the designation of status by presenting certain physical and behavioural attributes to all classes of people in a region, not simply to nearby gentry. In fact, it may be argued here that achieving such as status meant the formulating of such a presentation which would elevate the given family to a class of people which transcended regional identities as omniscient to these idiosyncrasies, regardless of the means by which the family had attained said wealth. That said, it is important to recognise (as has been presented in this thesis) that such demonstrations of influence meant redefining a certain landscape or group of landscapes on one’s own terms as reflective of the specific presentational objectives, as can be seen in the variety of architectures employed for distinct purposes. At the base level, however, creating an identity as expressed in the landscape was rooted in this cultivation or redefinition of a principal family seat to which all subsidiary landholdings would refer.

By acquiring a medieval parkland, Thomas Liddell (d.1619) effectively transferred a pre-existing local history onto his family who would thenceforth be able to claim such a legacy for their own. Such a legacy was furthered following the awarding of the Baronetage c.1642 (addressed in Chapter IV) and later by the architectural augmentation of such heritage under the direction of the 3rd and 4th Baronets during the eighteenth century. As argued in Chapter V in reference to Penshurst Place, a medieval origin story such as that which Ravensworth carried along with its castle and parkland moved the family out of the realm of city merchants and politicians and into a higher societal position not necessarily owing to the connotations of medievalism in the early modern sense but to those of a historic connection to a landscape distinct from their former urban peers. This type of legacy as was enjoyed by the Blakistons of Gibside, the Lumleys of Lumley Castle, and the Bowes of Streatlam Castle (later to acquire Gibside, as discussed in Chapters IV and VI) was acquired by the Liddells seemingly overnight, essentially primed for the types of promotion addressed in the second process discussed below.

That said, this was not a landscape which remained static and was merely tended by the Liddell family but should be understood rather as a reflection of the unique preferences and objectives of its patrons. Élitism and legacy were not attained simply by the act of occupation of a significant site. Such luxuries were fundamentally the result of constructed and concentrated posturing on the part of the family and specific to the landscape which they held. This idea is illustrated well in Chapter IV where each case study represents a contemporary landscape estate with a set of motivations and objectives radically divergent from the preceding example. The same can be said of the Chesapeake estates examined in Chapter VII where beyond the proffered argument that gentry status could be obtained by observance of a set of social, political, and indeed architectural behaviours, the fruits of these labours materialised as completely unique reflections of the patron's particular objectives. Beyond the benefit of examination of these estates in the Chesapeake which highlights parallel and in some cases intersecting landscapes of power and exploitation in a transatlantic context, "a correspondence of academic form with local priorities" (Wenger 1986:144), such a comparison as has been employed in this thesis lends itself well to discussions of architecture as a concept. Is architecture not the act of creating spaces which satisfy a need which is specific to the person or body commissioning its construction? If so, may the redefinition of a pre-existing landscape be considered architecture in itself?

Ravensworth Castle was and is a reflection of the unique preferences of its patrons, particularly those of the 3rd Baronet. This is not to say that its objectives differed drastically from those of the Bowes family, for example, but rather that the responses to a drive towards acceptance and promotion within gentry society as carried out by the patrons have revealed much about what these persons or parties experienced and/or reacted to during each period of building, rebuilding, or refacing of the estate. The compulsion to create lineage, as can be seen in the comparative histories of the Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Baronet and Robert "King" Carter of Virginia, through the perpetuating of patriarchal traditions and customs had a direct relationship with the patronage of architecture which would ensure the visibility and posterity of such a culture for their respective families. Such posterity and "created lineage" was not possible without establishing a place within the very framework of the wider landscape: an objective attained most effectively by the defining of a family history as connected to a particular landscape which could simultaneously predate and outlast the patron.

Creating narrative

As presented in Chapter VII, the culture of merchant élitism may be synthesised in a rubric for distinguishing, participating, and promotion within and as a means of access into gentry society. The greater part of this thesis has centred on the life and works of Sir Henry Liddell 3rd Baronet Ravensworth whose political, economic, and architectural visions for the Liddell family, as influenced by his experiences and exposures in the later seventeenth century which may be seen as an early education in what constituted effective application and use of architecture as a means towards creating historical narrative, set the stage for all further developments of the estate(s) and the prosperity of the family as

merchant élite. By calling for the redefinition of his family's physical and social place in these landscapes of County Durham and the Tyneside region (as addressed in Chapter VI) as well as in English society in general (as evidenced by his legacy as realised in the construction of the family's house in London, also addressed in Chapter VI), the 3rd Baronet created an antiquarian yet progressive culture of architectural redefinition for the Liddell family, "looking both forwards and backwards" (Johnson 1996:121).

While this impetus towards redefinition as specific to the Liddell family has played a major role in the interpretation of the case studies examined in this thesis, the comparative approach as outlined in Chapter II has allowed such individuality to be seen as reflective of a wider agenda in architecture during the period in question, specifically that relating to Whiggism and the so-called "Georgian Order." Here may be seen an architecture which emboldens the individuality of the patron (Harrington 1989) which is in itself an act of associationism aimed towards a common sociopolitical agenda. By calling for an architecture of this sort, the Liddell family placed themselves within a regional Whig agenda for Yorkshire, County Durham, and Northumberland as expressed in Palladian, Gothic, and classical architecture at various periods during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and as has been shown particularly in Chapters V and VI, it is possible to trace the architectural appropriations of Whiggism through the evolution of Ravensworth Castle by analysing changing representations of liberty and antiquity as contextualised in a regional (Chapter VI) and global (Chapter VII) sense. At Ravensworth and other estates alike, there may be seen a dichotomy of classical and Gothic elements which were called upon for distinct purposes at specific points in time during the period in question. In this sense, the idea of a synonymous "Georgian" architecture may be called into question yet the concept of the Georgian Order, or an implied association among the élite, should be understood as reflective of a cross-regional drive towards architecture which celebrates individual interpretations and applications of politically-appropriated architectural languages.

Such a Georgian Order may also be seen played out in another key issue raised in this thesis, being the promotion of a family within competitive cultures of dominance and ascendancy. For the Liddell family specifically, this allied yet competitive relationship with the Bowes family of Gibside and Streatlam Castle, as played out in Chapters IV and VI through the diversification of landholdings and the use of distinct architectures for specific political and social goals, provides the necessary regional context for initiatives of the Liddells while simultaneously shedding new light on the Bowes themselves (a family much better represented in the historical and archaeological literature; see particularly Wills 1995, Oldroyd 1996, Wills & Coutts 1998, and Green 2004). This relationship intensified from the latter half of the seventeenth century (coinciding with the Liddell family receiving the title of Baronets Ravensworth) and continued through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a cooperative exchange of resources (i.e. the Grand Alliance of 1726) amidst an approach to competitive landholding where both were constantly vying for supremacy in the region and further afield. To review, Thomas Liddell (d.1619) acquired the Ravensworth Estate in 1607 and his son Sir Thomas Liddell (1578-1650) was

created 1st Baronet Ravensworth c.1642. Newton Hall was acquired by the Liddells c.1662; twenty-seven years later the Bowes acquired their townhouse in South Bailey, Durham City. Gibside was acquired in 1713 and Streatlam Castle refaced c.1717-20, the same time that Ravensworth and Newton Hall were redesigned/refaced (c.1717-1728). Eslington Park was acquired c.1719 and redesigned/refaced from 1720. The Liddells purchased No.13 St. James's Square c.1735 from the Clarges family, redesigning its front from that date, and, in the year following, the Bowes family purchased their house in Elvet, Durham City, c.1736 and commissioned its redesign from 1739. Ravensworth Castle was again redesigned in the Gothic style from 1758 to designs by the same architect (James Paine) working at Gibside at the time (Chapel, Column to Liberty, stables, and Banqueting House, c.1750s-60s). It should be noted that the supposed Banqueting House at Ravensworth discussed in Chapter IV was probably constructed as part of this mid-century building campaign and was likely built in the Gothic style as well, judging by its form as recorded in Fryer's estate map of 1785. Finally, the Bowes family purchased a house at 35 Grosvenor Square c.1762 (now demolished).

Considering the parallels present in the comparative architectural histories of these two coal-owning families, it is impossible to ignore a culture of competition which was arguably a major factor contributing to such prolific patronage of architecture. By understanding the periods and contexts in which each of these building campaigns were undertaken, architecture may be seen as being used to create the illusion of presence and sweeping influence far beyond the boundaries of the principal estate(s). The diversification of landholdings ensured power and visibility in all the right places, reflected in architecture and of the surrounding social, political, and economic environment. This is a major justification for the use of a comparative historical archaeology where analysis of a building's context and implied purpose sheds light on the processes of creating sustainable perceptions of success.

Retaining Character

The primary goal of this thesis has been to analyse early modern constructions of legacy and functionality in estate landscapes. For the primary site at Ravensworth Castle, as well as its various contemporaries on the local and global levels, close examination has revealed a dynamic estate which evolved alongside the economic and political gains and ultimate fall of the family. This realisation raises a number of issues regarding the "permanence" of status and posterity of houses. In establishing continuities with earlier iterations of a site, aligning it with certain overarching languages for building (i.e. the Georgian Order), families were able to highlight specific characteristics for landscapes which would be retained for future generations. That said, constructions of such legacies were fundamentally reflective of the periods and contexts in which they were created. At Ravensworth, a medieval landscape and set of structures have been retained through to the present day (discussed in Chapters IV and V) yet were reinterpreted, or redefined, with the introduction of the estate's industrial functionalities in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as part of a regionalised Georgian Order exemplified by families such as the Lumleys and Bowes. It was this set of industrial initiatives which

defined the legacy and perception of the estate for the early modern period and which endured through the tenures of successive Baronets and Barons Ravensworth. From 1670 onwards, the year when the Ravensworth Engine was completed (addressed in Chapter III), the architectural and landscape histories of Ravensworth Castle were intimately connected with and directly influenced by the industries which financed its success and the success of the Liddell family.

Herein lies a dichotomy of designing picturesque landscapes which stood in contrast to the landscapes which brought about the capital used in their construction, yet for the estates of Tyneside coal barons and contemporary plantation sites in the colonial Chesapeake region, industrial functionality and innovation was made visible within the bounds of the estate parkland and offered for the coal owner or planter, visitor, and dependent (whether pitman or enslaved African) to encounter, bolstering the sensory experience of industry for all of these parties. Such constructions in the Tyne region, which has been called the Florence of the Industrial Revolution (Smailes 1935:201), effectively redefined the character of the landscape and may be considered the major legacy of the Liddell family's tenure at Ravensworth. From the late seventeenth century, the experiences of all those parties mentioned above were redefined within the context of industry. This is particularly evident in housing culture, where collieries lying just on the periphery of the Ravensworth estate parkland (discussed in Chapter IV), namely the Ravensworth Engine (marked as "Old" on the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1857 so had likely closed by this time) and Ravensworth Ann Colliery (later known as Team Colliery, opened 1726) were likely to have had associated housing for miners in the immediate or nearby vicinity. As compared to the organisation and experiences of enslaved Africans in the American colonies (see Orser 1987, 1988, and 1996b, discussed in Chapter VII), particularly as these relate to movement within and between plantation landscapes and the visibility of such workers, the experiences of pitmen during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may have been more akin to the former than might be assumed, given their status as paid workers. While the specific housing culture of workers is not the focus of this thesis (see particularly Smailes 1938 and Sill 1984), the inclusion of an industrial component in the design (or redesign) of such early modern estate landscapes (as was the case at Ravensworth, Lumley, and Gibside, addressed in Chapter IV) is the legacy of this period.

Standing both above and within the industry which served them, the coal baron and planter alike created microcosmic societies within their respective estates (Upton 1984:64) and formed roles within these societies which would outlast the patrons: two distinct regions producing and defining architecture and landscape within a British Georgian Order. Such roles as were assigned to and achieved by members of a family and their associated dependents dictated much about the ways in which space, access, political participation, and family continuity functioned. Here may be offered a definition for *élitism* itself, where within the context of early modern merchant capitalism, it was not in the acquiring of wealth nor by the commissioning of grand architecture but in the creation and presentation of individuality and the demonstration of influence, whether perceived or genuine.

As is argued in this chapter and throughout this thesis, the historical archaeology of any artefact, whether sherd of pottery or estate landscape, must recognise the various and in most cases significantly divergent meanings which are and have been given to the artefact over the course of its lifespan. With this in mind, the thesis has presented an argument for the usefulness of a wider framework for interpretation of the early modern built environment, namely the 'Georgian Order', which may provide a lens through which to understand the regional applications of certain overarching architectural languages (i.e. the use of classically inspired motifs to indicate associations with London as a metropole for the British Atlantic world). It may be argued that this Georgian Order is too sweeping and generalised a "lens" to properly articulate this argument for an associative regionality, especially considering the use of such architectures by disparate political and religious bodies. That said, it has been argued particularly within the comparative study of early modern industrial Chesapeake society and the coalfield of the north of England that an individualism as expressed in architecture may provide a more suitable framework for inquiry.

Within the field of historical archaeology, the analytical utility of capitalism (particularly as forwarded by Johnson 1996 and 1999, Leone 1999, and Wylie 1999) may provide a suitable framework for this and future studies of industrial landscape estates as constructed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Specifically, this concept may serve as one possible device for framing the central assertion of this thesis that élite architecture and landscapes of the period are notable for their individualism in terms of design and functionality. As a system and ideology, capitalism emphasises this individual as well as the commoditisation of landscapes. This is important as it situates the study within a wider framework for theoretical historical archaeology beyond what may be offered by historical or architectural analyses alone.

Private "ownership" of resources (e.g. land, money, raw materials; Leone 1999:4) and the restructure of labour and means of production as dictated by individuals according to a hierarchy of control is perhaps the central tenet of the argument presented in this thesis. These hierarchies were highly visible to both labourers and market dictators. Within this system, families such as the Liddells and Bowes on Tyneside and the Carters and Masons in the Chesapeake attempted to (quite literally) extract maximum profits from the landscape, the infrastructure, and indeed the labourers. Stemming perhaps from spatial transformations of the landscape wrought by enclosure which occurred in the sixteenth century (Johnson 1996, where it is suggested that such transitions shifted both physical and mental spaces in landscapes, housing, and the documentary record), such early transitions experienced in both the Tyneside and Chesapeake contexts may be seen as antecedents to the growth of capitalistic approaches to landscape design, manipulation, and, perhaps most importantly within the scope of this discussion, control over the objectives and realisations of such exercised by mercantile élite during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Final Thoughts: Claiming an Architecture

Ravensworth Castle is and has been a significant contributor to the historical archaeology of the Tyne Valley. As one component of a wider historical narrative, its evolution is fundamentally tied to its surrounding landscape and has influenced much of what became the regional character of North East England in the modern period. That said, the historical archaeology of this estate raises certain questions as to its place within a narrative and, perhaps more importantly, how such interpretations may and should be presented. As an artefact, the significance of Ravensworth Castle should thus be subject to change at each stage of its lifespan, its “meaning” not capable of restoration but rather susceptible to contemporary perspective. Reading such an artefact requires the acceptance of such a lifespan for objects, where “meaning does not reside in artifacts or in the people but in the moment of interaction between the two” (Thomas 1996:97).

This raises issues of ownership and stewardship of the site. As a piece of cultural history, who then is entitled to and/or responsible for the history of Ravensworth Castle? Who may create narrative from the historical archaeology of the site, and to what end? For a site which has been the recipient of evolving perceptions of manorial, industrial, political, and gentry culture, as reflected in its dynamic architectural history, and which is not currently maintained by Liddell family, the stewardship of Ravensworth Castle does not necessarily lie with any one specific body. Rather, its historical significance and the interpretation of such are created and sustained by distinct parties, each carrying their own responsibilities and objectives. The role of the historical archaeologist must therefore be to provide a professional and objective synthesis and accompanying interpretation which may then be disseminated for the benefit and utility of both the academic and regional communities. That said, interpretation will always be a reflection of the period and context in which it was formed.

The role of the site within the context of gentry and industrial history in Gateshead, County Durham, and the North East of England may be seen as one of an evolving relationship between the natural and built environment which has created these landscapes from the early modern period into the present day. The historical archaeologist must then attempt to “restore” certain histories of the site and its cultural and physical contexts. These interpretations will ultimately be the result of an outsider’s perspective which may or may not recognise a professional obligation to pursue this historical archaeology (Pantazatos 2014). An example of this is found in the archaeology of churches, where the shifting community function of the structure must be appreciated alongside the architectural reflections of such functionality seen in distinct phases in the building’s fabric. For Ravensworth Castle, any efforts towards restoring all or part of the site will need to consider its various historical roles. If Ravensworth is restored, does this then mean that the site should be restored as a country house with this function at the fore? Can Ravensworth be considered both a public and private relic (Breglia 2009)?

It is not possible to create any one impression of an artefact which addresses the entirety or, more importantly, the most “relevant” or significant portion of its lifespan. Following Ingold,

“Building [...] is a process that is continually going on, for as long as people dwell in an environment. It does not begin here, with a pre-formed plan, and end there, with a finished artefact. The ‘final form’ is but a fleeting moment in the life of any feature, when it is matched to a human purpose, likewise cut out from the flow of intentional activity” (Ingold 2000:188).

Given the aggregate character of Ravensworth Castle and its regional landscape, each phase in its development has required an interpretation to comply with its necessary context, each of which have been analysed from a modern standpoint and their constructed interpretations recognised as such. In examining an estate, or any artefact, from this standpoint, it is not necessarily motivations which are revealed but rather the context and disposition of the historical figures acting upon the artefact at each stage of its life. It is here where a regionality may be found. Ravensworth was and remains an evolving and actuating landscape, each iteration building upon an earlier constitution with the north tower as its noble constant.

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APPENDIX

Database of Documents and Maps

Name	Author/Subject	Date	Matter	Collection	Reference Number
Landscape aerial photo of cropmarks, with the ruins of Ravensworth Castle just in shot. View from the southwest.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	426
Landscape aerial photo of Ravensworth Castle. View from the northeast.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	427
Landscape aerial photo of Ravensworth Castle. View from the west.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	428
Landscape aerial photo of cropmarks to the southwest of Ravensworth Castle. View from the southeast.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	429
Landscape aerial photo of cropmarks adjacent to Ravensworth Castle. View from the south.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	430
Landscape aerial photo of cropmarks adjacent to Ravensworth Castle. View from the north.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	431
Landscape aerial photo of Ravensworth Castle. View from the northeast.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	432
Landscape aerial photo of Ravensworth Castle. View from the east.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	433
Landscape aerial photo of the Nash Tower at Ravensworth Castle. View from the north.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	952
Landscape aerial photo, view from the south.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	953

Landscape aerial photo of Ravensworth Castle. View from the north.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	954
Portrait aerial photo of Ravensworth Castle. View from the east.		Late 20th C	Aerial photographs	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	955
Copy of Articles of Agreement, 27 June 1726, to form an alliance for working collieries		27 June 1726	Alliances	Shafto (Beamish) papers	1452/1
Cory v. Davison: Agreement and assignment relating to a colliery in North Biddick, Durham		1727-1730	Alliances	The National Archives	C 111/201
Romantic Ravensworth			Books	Tyne and Wear Archives	L/PA/1386
The star of Ravensworth. The heir of Eslington.		1826	Books	British Library	General Reference Collection C.194.b.119(191)
A sermon on the death of the Right Honourable Thomas Henry, Lord Ravensworth. Preached in Lamesley Church, on Sunday, March 18th, 1855, by R.H. Williamson.	Robert Hopper Williamson, Perpetual Curate of Lamesley	1855	Books	British Library	General Reference Collection RB.23.a.1672
Bibliotheca Liddelliana; or Catalogue of Books and Tracts, Relating to History, Literature, and Poetry: Being the Library of Henry Liddell, Esq.	Henry Liddell	1840	Books	British Library	None
Correspondence between George Liddell, Ravensworth Castle and John Meres, Apothecary Hall, Blackfriars		14 Sept - 30 Nov 1717	Correspondence	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/42/3
Correspondence between William Cotesworth, Gateshead Park and George Liddell, Ravensworth Castle		12 Dec 1718 - 15 Oct 1722	Correspondence	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/42/5
Letter, Henry Liddell, London to William Cotesworth		31 March 1717	Correspondence	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/5/10
Letter, Thomas Liddell to William Cotesworth, Gateshead		28 March 1717	Correspondence	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/5/6
Letter, 26 October 1765, from Lord Ravensworth and Partners to (Morton John) Davison asserting their rights in respect of certain collieries under an agreement with Mr Davison's father		26 Oct 1765	Correspondence	Shafto (Beamish) papers	1452/2

Liddell v. Watson (1735-1737): Correspondence of George Liddell of Ravensworth Castle		1728-1737	Correspondence	The National Archives	C 112/176
Joint and several Answer of Ralph Cocke and Mark Milbankes (d.1677), merchants, and Dorothy Wood, widow, three of the defendants to a Bill of Complaint brought by Francis Liddell, Esq., Sir Nicholas Cole Bart. (d.1669) and Sir George Baker, kt., (d.1667) concerning the debts of Thomas Liddell, deceased (d.1650)		1650 - 1667	Debts	Shafto (Beamish) papers	473
List of fruit trees for Ravensworth Gardens 'to be sent down by the first ships'		ND	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/137
Bills, William Cotesworth to Sir Henry Liddell, including for supply of candles to his collieries (Ravensworth and Bensham)		1716-1718	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/2
Estate Records of the Earl of Ravensworth		1707-1890	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.RAV
Ravensworth Estate rent ledger, 1707 - 1709. Enclosed: alphabetical list of tenants and their annual rents		1707	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.RAV/8
"Valuation of Sundry Farms at Hylton, Gibside, Marley Hill etc in the County of Durham belonging to John Bowes Esquire		1 May 1800 - 30 Nov 1837	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DT.BEL/1/8
"Plan of a Public House and Premises at Old Ravensworth, belonging to Sir T.J. Clavering, Baronet" surveyed by C.S. Bell		27 May 1847	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DT.BEL/2/107
Untitled plan depicting the present and proposed boundary between Gibside Estate and Byermoor Estate		1810	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DT.BEL/2/14
"A Plan of Whickham and Swalwell low Ground belonging to Sir James Clavering, Baronet, no 3"		1738 - 1748	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DT.BEL/2/20
"Plan of Grounds etc belonging to Sir Thomas John Clavering, Baronet, situate at and near Swalwell part whereof are now in the Occupation or Possession of Isaiah Millington, Thomas Calvert and Thomas Vardon, Esquires"		1 May 1802	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DT.BEL/2/22

"Plan of Lands in the Manor of Ravensworth and Lamesley in the Parish of Chester le Street ... lying East of Team Rivulet surveyed for Sir Henry George Liddell, Baronet by John Fryer, 1785"		1820	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DT.BEL/2/283
"Plan of Ground part of the Axwells and Swalwell Estates belonging to Sir Thomas John Clavering, Baronet, damaged by the Working of the Axwells Colliery"		August 1842	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DT.BEL/2/29
"Plan of Lands in the Manor of Whickham purchased of Mr Shaftoe's Representatives by Lord Ravensworth surveyed by John Fryer, February 1766"		1810	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DT.BEL/2/55
Untitled plan depicting property at Dunston including Cow Heel, Whickham Thorns, Dunston Lodge and land subsequently developed as Spoor Street, Ellison Road, Ravensworth Road and Clavering Avenue		1855	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DT.BEL/2/94
Ravensworth Colliery, fortnightly paybills. Each records the amount of coal worked by each miner and the pay he received			Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DX214/2
Exemplification of a common recovery between Henry Liddell and James Clavering, plaintiffs, and Ralph Fetherstonhalgh, gent, deforciant (Sarah Johnson, widow and John Cooke, vouches) concerning 10 messuages, 2 gardens, 3 acres land, 3 acres meadow and 3 acres pasture, all in Newcastle		2 July 1707	Descriptions of property	Tyne and Wear Archives	DX346/1/6
Plan of Whickham, Ravensworth's estate		ND	Descriptions of property	Maps: Durham Bishopric Halmote Court Records	DHC11/V/126 (139)
Tracing of plan of several estates in the Parish of Whickham belonging to Sir Thomas Henry Liddell Bart., and other grounds "intermixed herewith". Acreages stated		ND - 1890-1910? Based on script and materials	Descriptions of property	Maps: Durham Bishopric Halmote Court Records	DHC11/VI/82
Plan of Ravensworth Estate in the Parish of Whickham, showing copyholds (May 1911)	William Johnson	May 1911	Descriptions of property	Maps: Durham Bishopric Halmote Court Records	DHC11/VI/86a-c

Tracing from Whickham Tithe plan showing lands belonging to Lord Ravensworth in the Parish of Wickham		1658-1908	Descriptions of property	Maps: Durham Bishopric Halmote Court Records	DHC11/VI/87
Plans for house and gardens with designs for cornices, etc., mostly for Newton, Co. Durham		Early 18th century	Descriptions of property	Sheffield Archives	WWM/Br P/177
Letter from W.N. Darnell at Durham to RS at Mainsforth, reporting his efforts to discover the name of the steward Mr Joseph Medcalf of French Hall, Gateshead, describes and comments on [Ravensworth] Castle and its situation, an old village, a heronry in the park, and the gardens	William Darnell	13 Feb 1819	Descriptions of property	Surtees Manuscripts (Durham Cathedral Library)	SUR 39 p.239-242
Letter from [W.N. Darnell] at Stockton to RS with minor comments re his Ravensworth piece et al.	William Darnell	17 April 1819	Descriptions of property	Surtees Manuscripts (Durham Cathedral Library)	SUR 39 p.243-244
Henry Lord Ravensworth: The farm of the Old Castle of the Town of Newcastle on Tyne with the scite thereof and all messuages, tenements, waste grounds, gardens and other premises.		1777	Descriptions of property	The National Archives	E 367/7435
William Hutchinson's extra-illustrated Durham: Ravensworth Castle		1770 - 1814	Descriptions of property	William Hutchinson's Extra-Illustrated Durham: ASC	Facing p.417
Bargain and Sale (draft), 1684		1 Dec 1684	Land acquisitions	Sheffield Archives	Bag C/3201
Mortgage and counterpart (1743)		2 Feb 1743	Land acquisitions	Sheffield Archives	Bag C/3206,3207
Mortgage, by means of lease and release (1740)		1-2 Sep 1740	Land acquisitions	Sheffield Archives	SpSt/175/11-13
Deed of indemnity by Sir Henry Liddell of Ravensworth Castle to John Bacon of Staward, Northumberland		16 Dec 1735	Land acquisitions	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/142
Deed of indemnity by Sir Henry Liddell of Ravensworth Castle to John Bacon of Staward, Northumberland		16 Dec 1735	Land acquisitions	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/142
Transferral of ownership at Ravensworth, 1812		4 Aug 1812	Land acquisitions	Shafto (Beamish) papers	401
File of plans of Lord Ravensworth's copyhold lands in the manor of Whickham		ND	Land acquisitions	Durham Bishopric Halmote Court Records: Durham ASC	DHC10/A10/1889

Robert of Ravensworth: Witness at hearing of Grant by Gilbert del Green to Gilbert son of Robert of Wolviston of a toft, 12 acres of land and a rod of meadow in Wolviston, rendering 1d annually to the prior and convent of Durham		Mid 13th century	Land acquisitions	Durham Cathedral Muniments	3.9.Spec.94
Transfer of lands by (1) Robert White of Redheugh to (2) Thomas Liddell of Ravenshelme Castle (Part I of III)		10 Dec 1619	Land acquisitions	Greenslade deeds: Durham ASC	Co.Durham/Redheugh/1
Transfer of lands by (2) Robert White of Redheugh to (1) Thomas Liddell of Ravenshelme Castle (Part II of III)		19 Oct 1632	Land acquisitions	Greenslade deeds: Durham ASC	Co.Durham/Redheugh/2.1
Transfer of lands by (2) Robert White of Redheugh to (1) Thomas Liddell of Ravenshelme Castle (Part III of III)		30 January 1644/5	Land acquisitions	Greenslade deeds: Durham ASC	Co.Durham/Redheugh/2.2
Durham dean and chapter confirmation of a bishop of Durham's patent from Ravensworth Park for Thomas Liddell of "Ravenshelme" Castle, esq.		ND (mid 17th century)	Land acquisitions	Mickleton and Spearman manuscripts	f.62r-v
John Leigh, his wife Anne, and their son Henry, property in Ravensworth, from Thomas Liddell, esq.		ND	Land acquisitions	Mickleton and Spearman manuscripts	p.74
Letter from William Van Mildert at Addington Park to Charles Thorp		16 Jan 1829	Land acquisitions	Van Mildert letters: Durham Cathedral Library	VML 95
Letter from Nicholas Walton of Ravensworth Castle to William Taylor asking him to call to discuss the boundaries between the lands of Sir John Eden and the Ravensworth family		10 June 1793	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	536
Correspondence between William Taylor of Beamish and Nicholas Walton of Ravensworth Castle regarding boundaries on Kibblesworth Fell		June 1793	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	538-9
Letter from William Taylor of Beamish to William Robson at Ravensworth Castle requesting a copy of the description of the boundary of the Manor of Kibblesworth "as was shown to the Arbitrators by Mr Nichs. Walton"		26 June 1797	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	545

Letter from Arthur Mowbray of Sherburn to William Taylor suggesting a date for viewing the boundary line on Blackburn Fell with Mr (William) Robson of Ravensworth Castle, to draw up a description of the boundary or, if there should be disagreement, a Case for an opinion.		3 Dec 1798	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	552
Letter from (Sir) Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth Castle to Sir John Eden reviving the question of boundaries, with reference to an earlier dispute between his family and (William) Davison and the proposed conveyance of the disputed lands to Messrs. Wortley; claiming manorial rights over the surface of Hedley Fell and Beamish East Moor and expressing his desire for an amicable settlement.		27 August 1799	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	559
Draft Bill of Complaint to be presented in Chancery by William Davison of Beamish against Sir Henry Liddell and others to establish the boundaries between the manors of Beamish and of Lamesley and Ravensworth, and the rights of the said manor of Beamish. (Chancellor: William Lord Cowper)		ND	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	491
Plan of Eighton Banks Estate in the Chapelry of Lamesley in the Parish of Chester-le-Street in the County of Durham		February 1842	Land boundaries	Durham County Record Office	D/Bo/G26/(iii)
Printed copy of Act of Parliament "for Dividing, Allotting, and Inclosing certain Commons, and other commonable lands, within the Parochial Chapelries of Lamesley and Tanfield, or the one of them, in the County of Durham, called Blackburn Fell etc."		1801	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	1447
Disputes over colliery lands between Davidson of Beamish, Wortley (alias Mountagu of Wortley (Yorkshire), and Henry Liddell of Ravensworth		2 Jan 1724	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	294

Letter from (Sir) John Eden of Windlestone to (William) Taylor at Beamish concerning a letter received from Sir Thomas Liddell regarding riding the boundaries on Blackburn Fell, and his reply suggesting that Sir Thomas should give £300 for a lease of the coal		22 June 1800	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	560
Bargain and Sale (1623): Thomas Liddell of Ravenshelm v. Thomas Monnson of Buxton (Lincolnshire) and William Anderson of Broughton (Lincolnshire)		20 Nov 1623	Land boundaries	Shafto (Beamish) papers	622
Annual report by Richard Lambert to Sir Thomas Liddell and Partners re the state of the Partnership Collieries [Benton, Killingworth, Burradon, South Moor, Derwent Crook, Mount Moor]		12 June 1812	Land boundaries	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/160
Lease: Whickham Manor (with exceptions)	Henry Lord Ravensworth	10 Nov 1758	Lease	Deeds, property transactions, etc: Church Commission Durham Bishopric Estates 1956 deposit	CCB/D/1956/129/556 53
Whickham Manor (with exceptions)		26 Oct 1796	Lease	Deeds, property transactions, etc: Church Commission Durham Bishopric Estates 1956 deposit	CCB/D/1956/129/556 55/6
Counterpart Lease: Washington Parish - Birtley Fell Colliery	Henry Lord Ravensworth	2 May 1775	Lease	Deeds, property transactions, etc: Church Commission Durham Bishopric Estates 1956 deposit	CCB/D/1956/177/570 81
Lease: Washington Parish - Birtley Fell Colliery	Sir Henry George Liddell Bt	2 May 1789	Lease	Deeds, property transactions, etc: Church Commission Durham Bishopric Estates 1956 deposit	CCB/D/1956/177/570 82
Lease: Gateshead Parish - Gateshead and Wickham Manors	Lord Ravensworth	10 May 1781	Lease	Deeds, property transactions, etc: Church Commission Durham Bishopric Estates 1956 deposit	CCB/D/1956/430/186 284A
Lease (Coal): Washington and Chester Parishes	Thomas Henry Liddell Bt	12 Nov 1806	Lease	Deeds, property transactions, etc: Church Commission Durham Bishopric Estates 1956 deposit	CCB/D/1956/436/186 450

53 Old Deeds: Whickham Parish - Whickham Manor		1729 - 1799	Lease	Deeds, property transactions, etc: Church Commission Durham Bishopric Estates 1956 deposit	CCB/D/1956/442/186 616
18th cent-20th cent: deeds, estate papers and legal papers (largely testamentary but including collieries, rentals and plans).			Lease	Durham County Record Office	D/CG 16
Copy of Award declaring that Sir Henry Liddell of Ravensworth Castle in the county of Durham, Bart., and William Davison of Beamish, Esq., hold the manor of Kibblesworth "as Tenants in common in Moieties"		28 May 1742	Leasing	Shafto (Beamish) papers	504
Minutes relating to the Agreement (of 27 June 1726) whereby G. Bowes was to convey his right to Hedley Fell to Sir H. Liddell		27 June 1726	Leasing	Shafto (Beamish) papers	512
Exceeding the rights granted in leases by William Davison, 1 January 1723/24, of Beamish Moor, Beamish, Tanfield and S. Cawsey collieries, and under an Agreement of 17 April 1727.		1774	Leasing	Shafto (Beamish) papers	517
Lease and release		17-18 Feb 1755	Leasing	Sheffield Archives	SpSt/175/16-17
Lease for possession (1699)		19 Sept 1699	Leasing	Sheffield Archives	SY268/Z/3/2
Authorisation by Henry Jackson (on behalf of Francis Bassett, esquire) to Sir Henry Liddell, Lyonell Vane esquire, William Johnson esquire, John Rogers esquire and Henry Liddell esquire		24 Dec 1703	Leasing	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/114
Lease (Gibside)		25 March 1784	Leasing	Tyne and Wear Archives	DX973/5/1
George Liddell to George Storey of Beanley, Northumberland: Lease of Eslington and Beanley		13 Dec 1727	Leasing	Baker Baker papers: Durham ASC	126/58-63
Castle and Garth estate: petition for lease of castle by Lord Ravensworth and others		1735-1786	Leasing	The National Archives	CRES 34/140

Case and queries on behalf of William Davison of Beamish, Esq., against George Bowes of Gibside in the county of Durham concerning Davison's refusal to perform Articles of Agreement, dated 29 April 1721, with William Blackiston Bowes of Gibside, Esq., (deceased), whereby he covenanted to convey, on request made within seven years, part of some moorland with its coalmines in dispute between himself and Sir Henry Liddell of Ravensworth Castle, lord of the Manor of Lamesley (deceased).		29 April 1721	Legal proceedings	Shafto (Beamish) papers	496
Articles of Agreement (1755, holdings of the late Thomas Bright of Badsworth)		18 Feb 1755	Legal proceedings	Sheffield Archives	SpSt/175/18
Settlement, by means of lease and release		23 Nov 1716	Legal proceedings	Sheffield Archives	SpSt/175/7
Smithson v. Lord Ravensworth		1751	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/2511/27
Five part agreement [Grand Alliance]		9 March 1726/7	Legal proceedings	Tyne and Wear Archives	DX973/4/2
Hylton v Lord Ravensworth, 1750		1750	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/1102/16
Ramsden v Ravensworth, 1750		1750	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/1102/26
Wortley v Harrison, 1739		1739	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/1317/24
Liddell v Watson, 1740		1740	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/1328/22
Wordsworth v Lord Ravensworth, 1753		1753	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/1666/48
Musgrave v. Bishop of Durham (Defendants Liddell and others), 1751		1751	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/193/2
Lord Ravensworth v Marquess of Rockingham, 1755		1755	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/211/5
Harvey v Ravensworth, 1757		1757	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/2159/1
Liddell v Liddell, 1726		1726	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/2394/4
Liddle v Cotesworth, 1729		1729	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/2422/37
Liddell v Cotesworth, 1727		1727	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/2590/39

Liddell v Bishop of Durham, 1714		1714	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/2650/38
Liddell v Bowes, 1724		1724	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/2728/97
Cotesworth v Liddell, 1729		1729	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/2736/44
Cotesworth v Liddell, 1729		1729	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/2736/47
Liddell v Crosby, 1722		1722	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/45/9
Liddell v Crosby, 1722		1722	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/45/9
Liddell v Watson, 1735		1735	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/519/40
Cotesworth v Baker, 1727		1727	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/688/14
Cotesworth v Baker, 1727		1727	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/688/14
Liddell v Ridley, 1724		1724	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/688/38
Liddell v Liddell, 1725		1725	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/690/7
Liddell v Davison, 1717		1717	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/732/33
Liddell v Clavering, 1738		1738	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/792/16
Wortley v Richardson, 1735		1735	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 11/798/32
Lord Ravensworth v Law. Depositions. Thomas Henry Liddell Lord Ravensworth, 1823		1823	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 13/2793/6
Creagh v Milbanke, 1699-1700		1699-1700	Legal proceedings	The National Archives	C 6/394/28
Map of Ravensworth in the Manor of Lamesley		1712	Maps	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.HUG/135
Letter from Anne Yorke (wife of John Yorke) in Richmond		16 July 1749	Personal/family matters	Clavering manuscripts: Durham ASC	CLV 274
Letter from Thomas Yorke Jr in London		26 Nov 1715	Personal/family matters	Clavering manuscripts: Durham ASC	CLV 491/30

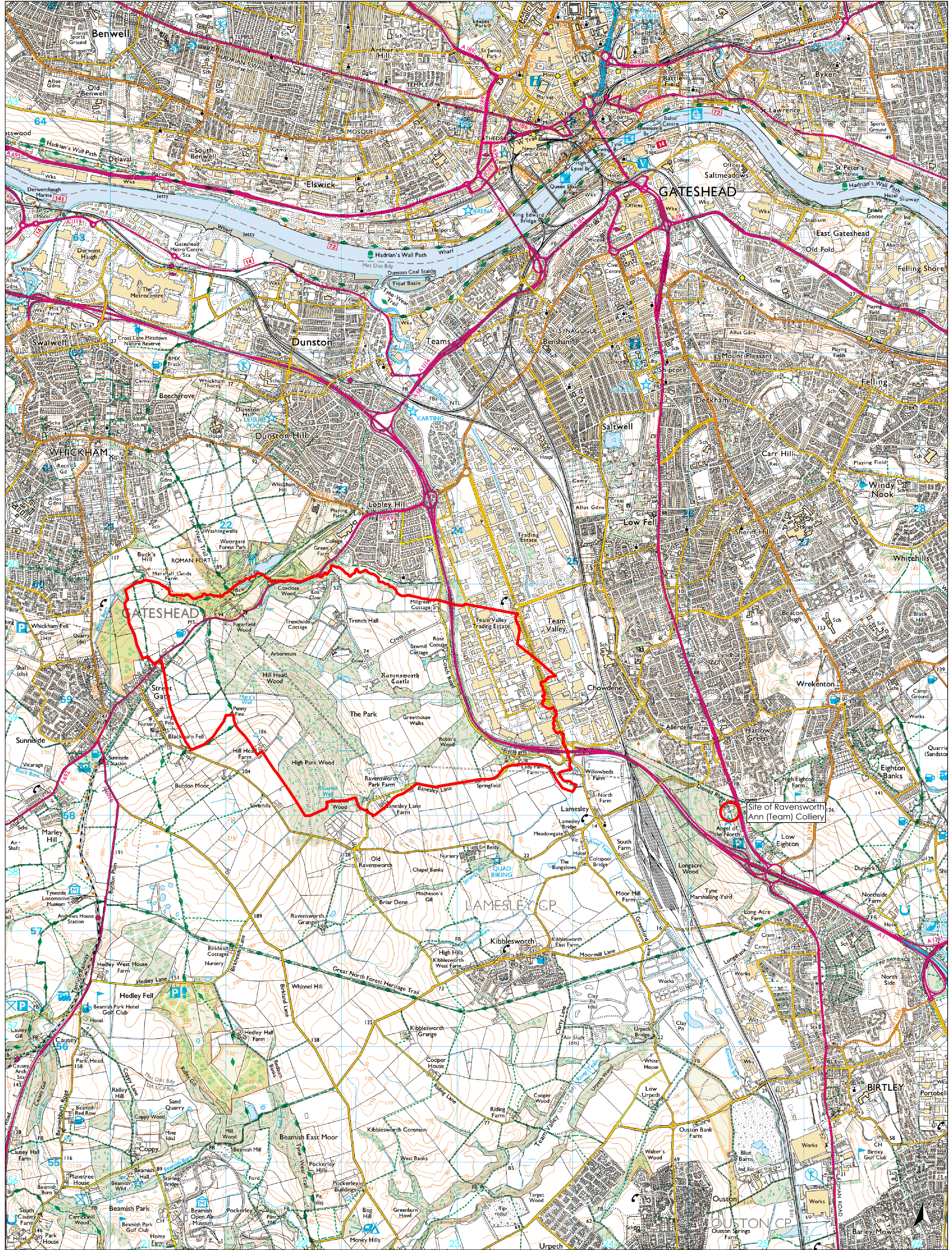
Letter from Thomas Yorke Jr in London: Liddell using false information to tarnish Clavering reputation		13 Dec 1715	Personal/family matters	Clavering manuscripts: Durham ASC	CLV 491/34
Letter from Thomas Yorke Jr in London: Liddells are on a campaign to ruin Clavering		5 Jan 1716	Personal/family matters	Clavering manuscripts: Durham ASC	CLV 491/36
Letter from Thomas Yorke Jr in London: Liddells may have been manipulating many men		1 Dec 1716	Personal/family matters	Clavering manuscripts: Durham ASC	CLV 491/52(e)
Letter from Thomas Yorke Jr in London: Mr Liddell is a worthless fellow	Thomas Yorke	13 November 1716	Personal/family matters	Clavering manuscripts: Durham ASC	CLV 491/62
Letter in third person from Henry Thomas Liddell (Earl of Ravensworth next hit) from Ravensworth Castle to Robert White concerning White's gift of antiquarian reprints		23 Dec 1860	Personal/family matters	DUL Additional Manuscripts	Add.MS. 1249
Letter from Henry George Liddell, 2nd Earl of Ravensworth (1821-1903), from Ravensworth Castle, to unidentified correspondent, regretting that he will be unable to attend the next meeting of the Archaeological Society.		26 Dec [ca. 1890]	Personal/family matters	DUL Additional Manuscripts	Add.MS. 1325
Newspaper cuttings: "The Laplanders at Ravensworth Castle"		c.1880	Personal/family matters	DUL Additional Manuscripts	Add.MS. 1831/4Bound in SC 10139
Landscape aerial photo of cropmarks in a field, with Nash Tower and the ruins of Ravensworth Castle in shot. View from the south.		Late 20th C	Photograph	Norman McCord Collection - Newcastle University	425
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1953		1953	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL000041
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate, February 1953	Walton, C.R.	Feb 1953	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL000081
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1954	Walton, C.R	1954	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL000082
Ravensworth Castle gateway and lodge, early 1900s		early 1900s	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL000525
Park House, Gateshead. Southeast angle	NMR	10 Dec 1971	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003377
East Gateway, Ravensworth Castle	R. Johnston & Son	Pre 1935	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003573

Physical Training Display, Northern Command Tattoo, Ravensworth Castle	Gale & Polden, Ltd.	1936	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003574
Arbortum Path, Ravensworth Castle, c1921	R.A. Buchanan & Co.	1921	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003591
Northern Command Tattoo, Ravensworth Castle, 1934	Andrew Reid & Co.	1934	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003610
Ravensworth Castle, Courtyard, Ravensworth Estate (Post 1950)		Post 1950	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003623
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1953		1953	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003625
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1954	Walton, C.R.	1954	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003638
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1954	Walton, C.R.	195	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003639
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1954	Walton, C.R.	1954	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003650
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1954	Walton, C.R.	1954	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003656
Courtyard entrance, Ravensworth Castle, c1910		1910	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003664
Courtyard and Old tower, Ravensworth Castle, c1921	R.A. Buchanan & Co.	1921	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003713
Entrance to Courtyard, Ravensworth Castle		Pre 1950	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003721
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1919		1919	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003729
Ravensworth Castle and lake	Dickinson, T.H.	1912	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003730
Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate	R. Johnston & Son Ltd	ND	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003731
Entrance, Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate	R. Johnston & Son Ltd	Pre 1935	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003733
West View, Ravensworth Castle Estate		ND	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003735
Ravensworth Castle, portion of the old castle		ND	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003741
Courtyard, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1912	Dickinson, T.H.	1912	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003743

The Great Hall, Ravensworth Castle, c1921		1921	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003744
Senior Class Room, Ravensworth Castle Estate, 1921	R.A. Buchanan & Co.	1921	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003748
Library, Ravensworth Castle, c1912	Dickinson, T.H.	1912	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003750
Pupils Common Room, Ravensworth Castle, Ravensworth Castle Estate	R.A. Buchanan & Co.	1921	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003751
Fireplace in Great Hall, Ravensworth Castle		ND	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003752
Dining Hall, Ravensworth Castle, c1921	R.A. Buchanan & Co.	1921	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003759
Organ Gallery, Chapel, Ravensworth Castle, c1921	R.A. Buchanan & Co.	1921	Photographs	iSee Gateshead	GL003760
Photograph of Ravensworth Castle. No 4		1 Sept 1903	Photographs	The National Archives	COPY 1/465/19
Photograph of Ravensworth Castle. No 1		1 Sept 1903	Photographs	The National Archives	COPY 1/465/20
Photograph of Ravensworth Castle. No 2		1 Sept 1903	Photographs	The National Archives	COPY 1/465/21
Photograph of Ravensworth Castle. No 3		1 Sept 1903	Photographs	The National Archives	COPY 1/465/22
Photograph album		29 April - 18 September 1925	Photographs	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.GRA/1/3
Photograph of former Ravensworth Terrace Synagogue		2002	Photographs	Tyne and Wear Archives	DX1270/1/1
Henry Ravensworth: Witness to 15th century legal proceeding		20 Oct 1437	Pre-Liddell records	Durham Cathedral Muniments	2.3.Spec.55
Henry Ravensworth: Witness to 15th century legal proceeding		12 March 1442	Pre-Liddell records	Durham Cathedral Muniments	2.3.Spec.60
Lumley Castle	By P.Russell & O.Price and published, London 1769 by Adlard & Browne.	1769	Prints		

Lumley Castle	After Joseph Clarendon Smith (1778–1810)	1810	Prints		T06443
View, in Indian ink, of the entrance front of Ravensworth Castle, in the parish of Chester-le-street; drawn by S.H. Grimm.	S. H. Grimm	1778	Prints	British Library	Cartographic Items Additional MS. 15540
View, in outline, of one of the towers at the entrance of Ravensworth Castle; drawn by S.H. Grimm.	S. H. Grimm	1778	Prints	British Library	Cartographic Items Additional MS. 15540
The east view of Ravensworth Castle, in the bishoprick of Durham	Samuel & Nathaniel Buck	1728	Prints	DCL Pictures in Print	DCL Prints 261aa
Ravensworth Castle, Durham	None given	18--	Prints	DCL Pictures in Print	DCO Prints (C) Rut/Durham 1/390b
Ravensworth Castle, from an original sketch	Smyth	184-	Prints	DCL Pictures in Print	DCO Prints (C) Rut/Durham 1/390e
Ravensworth Castle, Durham. The seat of Thomas-Henry Liddell, Baron Ravensworth.	Drawn by Thomas Allom. Engraved by William Le Petit	1832	Prints	DCL Pictures in Print	DCO Prints (T) DU/Rav4
Ravensworth Castle, Durham. 5 miles from Newcastle-upon-Tyne	Not known	184-	Prints	DCL Pictures in Print	DCO Prints (T) DU/Rav6
Ravensworth Castle	John Bailey (1750-1819)	1787	Prints	DCL Pictures in Print	DUL ASCRef Y2/I HUT
Park House, Gateshead	Knowles, W.H.	1888	Prints	iSee Gateshead	GL000276
Park House interior, Victoria Works, St James Road, Gateshead	Knowles, W.H.	1888	Prints	iSee Gateshead	GL007669
Index of burials at Elswick, Hazlerigg, Heaton and Ravensworth	Matti Virtanen	1864 - 1990	Report on the company's earnings.	Tyne and Wear Archives	CEJW/3
Observations on a case between Lord Ravensworth & Dean and Chapter re property		ND	Tax Records	Durham Cathedral Muniments: Estate records	DCD/K/LP3/281
Land Tax Assessments: Ravensworth, 1760-1949		1760-1949	Tax Records	Durham Land Tax Records	LTR/49/1-95

Cotesworth Manuscripts		16th-19th centuries	Various	Tyne and Wear Archives	DF.COT
Will of Sir Henry Liddell, baronet, Ravensworth Castle		4 March 1724	Wills	Durham ASC	DPRI/1/1724/L3
Will of Sir Thomas Liddell, baronet, of Ravensworth Castle in the county of Durham		2 July 1698	Wills	Durham Probate Records: pre-1858 original wills and inventories	DPRI/1/1698/L5
Abstract of Title Deeds and Writings relating to certain Tithes and allotment of common part of Blackburn Fell belonging to the Right Honorable Lord Ravensworth		20 Nov 1623. Relevant entries from 1748, 1784, 1787,	Wills	Shafto (Beamish) papers	621
Will of Thomas Smith, Cook of Ravensworth Castle in Lamesley, Durham		18 May 1787	Wills	The National Archives	PROB 11/1153/167
Will of Sir Henry George Liddell of Ravensworth, Durham		18 Feb 1792	Wills	The National Archives	PROB 11/1214/181
Will of The Honorable Thomas Liddell of Ravensworth Castle, Durham		16 April 1856	Wills	The National Archives	PROB 11/2231/213
Will of Sir Henry Liddell of Ravensworth Castle, Durham		2 Nov 1723	Wills	The National Archives	PROB 11/594/7



 Area of Fryer's Map, 1785

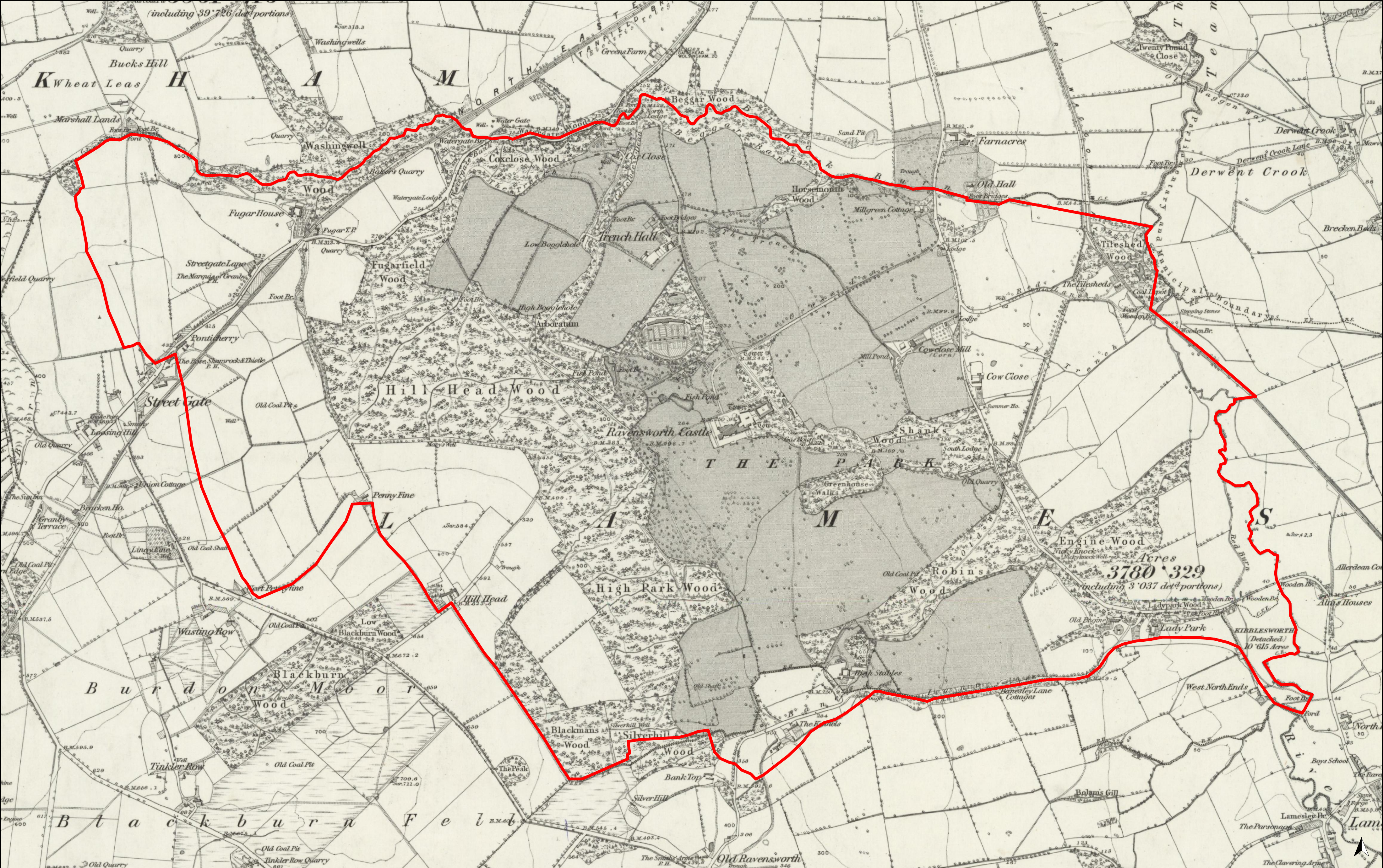
on behalf of
Mr Hartfelder
Department of Archaeology
Durham University

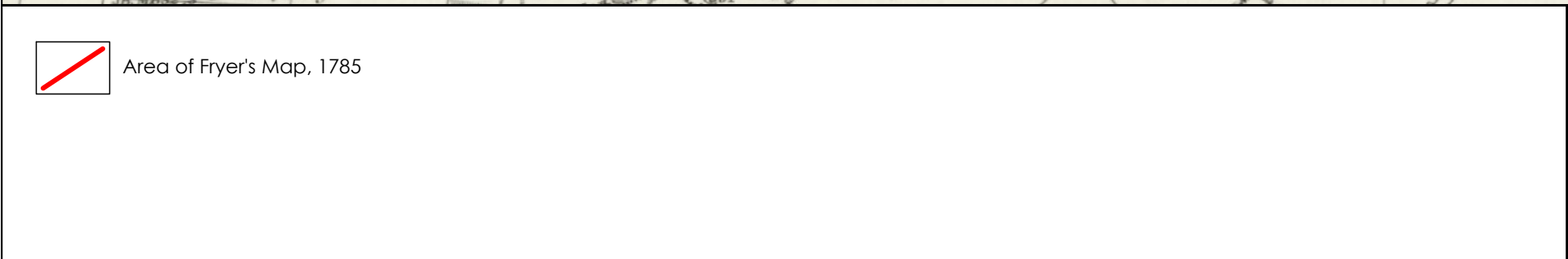

0 1km
scale 1:20 000 for A2 plot

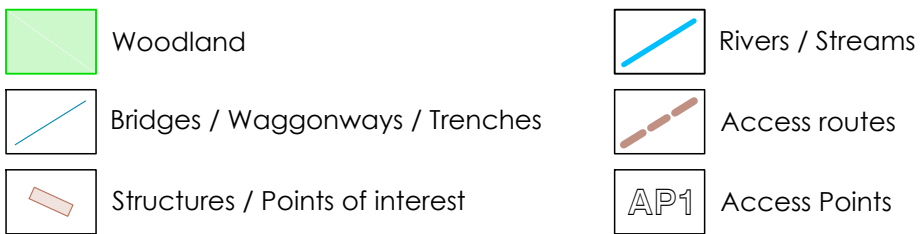
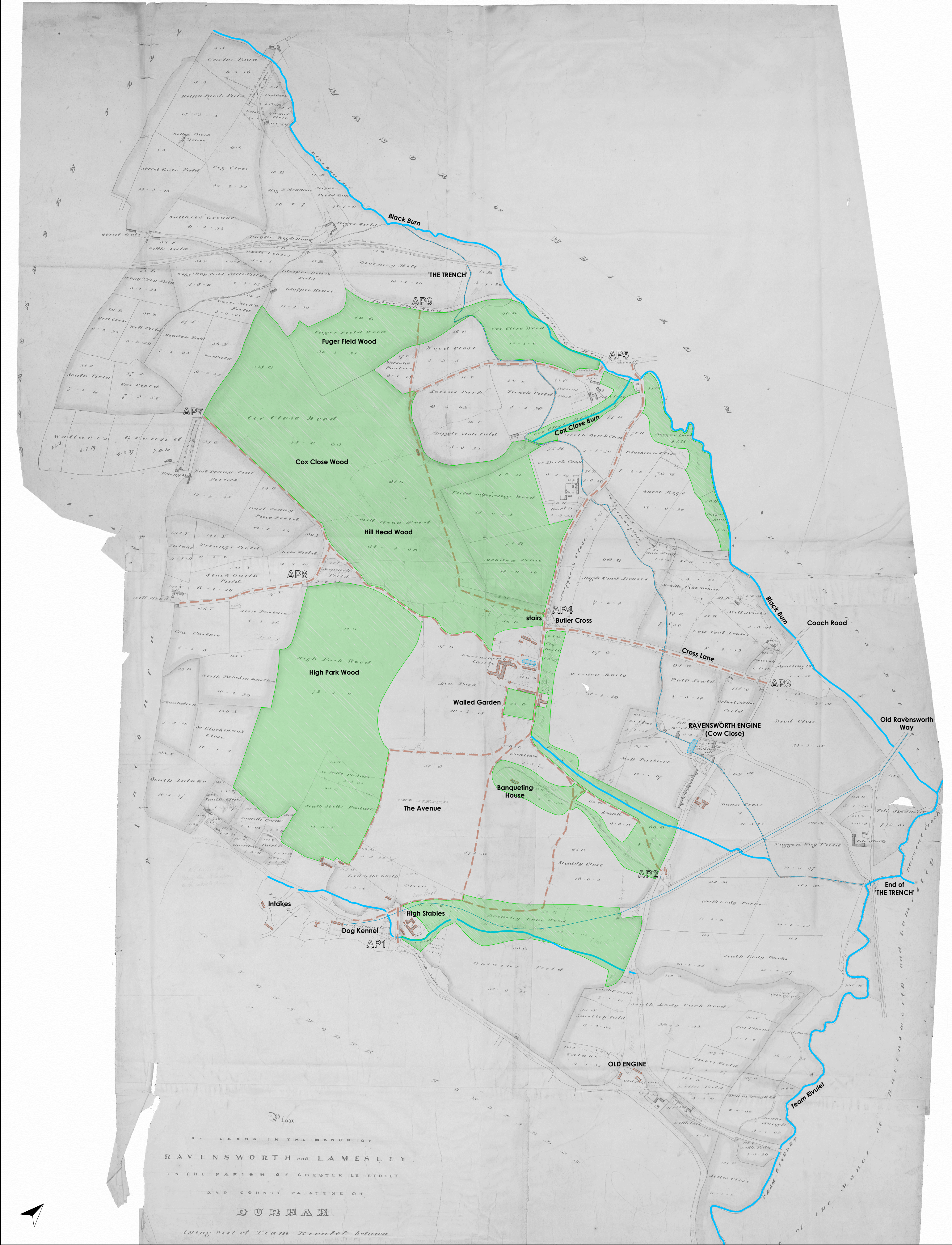


Ravensworth and Lamesley
County Durham

Plate 1: Site location



<div data-bbox="29 1858 1299 2068"> Area of Fryer's Map, 1785</div> <div data-bbox="1299 1858 1626 2068"><p>0 300m</p><p>scale 1:7500 for A2 plot</p></div>	<p>on behalf of Mr Hartfelder Department of Archaeology Durham University</p>		<p>Ravensworth and Lamesley County Durham</p> <p>Plate 2: Extract from the Ordnance Survey map of 1857</p>
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on behalf of
Mr Hartfelder
Department of Archaeology
Durham University

0 300m
scale 1:7500 for A2 plot



Ravensworth and Lamesley
County Durham

Plate 4: Fryer's Plan of the Lands in
the Manor of Ravensworth and
Lamesley, 1785 with annotations